COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR

OF THE

TAMIL LANGUAGE

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR OF BOOKS
18 SEP 1948
MADRAS

BY

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI
TIRUVADI—TANJORE Dt.

1947

Price Rs. 8] [10 S.

46349

P 31

N 47

The
Trichinopoly United Printers Limited
Trichinopoly.
Ty. 2—30-12-47—500 Copies

For copies apply to :—

1. THE AUTHOR

2. Sri P. S. GANESA SASTRI, M.A.,L.T.,
38, Pandian Lane, Andar Street, Teppakulam, Trichy.

PREFACE

THIS book was prepared on the model of 'The Comparative Grammar of the Greek Language' by Joseph Wright. A chapter on Syntax is added here. Since my scholarship in Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam is of a low standard, the treatment with reference to those languages may not be full and may be defective. I wish that scholars in the respective languages may make it up. My conclusions are based only on the works in the four languages Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam which I have studied, since I had no opportunity to study any work in the other Dravidian Languages first-hand. I express my heartfelt thanks to my friend Sri M. Venkatasubbiah B.A., B.L., now Sub-Judge, Tenali, (then District Munsif, Tiruvadi), and my old students at Raja's College, Tiruvadi K. Janardanachari and A. S. Anantakrishnan for having initiated me into the study of Telugu, Kannaḍa and Malayalam. May this be an incentive for further research in Dravidian Languages!

12, North Madavilagam
Tiruvadi, Tanjore Dt
15—12—47

P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI.

SCHEME OF TRANSLITERATION

Phonetic Script	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
a	அ	ಅ	అ	അ
ā	ஆ	ಆ	ఆ	ആ
i	இ	ಇ	ఇ	ഇ
ī	ஈ	ಈ	ఈ	ഈ
u	உ	ಉ	ఉ	ഉ
ū	ஊ	ಊ	ఊ	ഊ
ṛ		ಋ	ఋ	ഋ
ṝ		ೠ	ౠ	ൠ
ḷ		ಌ	ఌ	ഌ
ḹ		ೡ	ౡ	ൡ
e	எ	ಎ	ఎ	എ
ē	ஏ	ಏ	ఏ	ഏ
ai	ஐ	ಐ	ఐ	ഐ
o	ஒ	ಒ	ఒ	ഒ
ō	ஓ	ಓ	ఓ	ഓ
au	ஔ	ಔ	ఔ	ഔ
ஃ	ஃ			
ĭ	குற்றியலிகரம்			
ŭ	குற்றியலுகரம்			
ṁ		anusvāra.	ardhānu-svāra.	
k	க	ಕ	క	ക
kh		ಖ	ఖ	ഖ
g		ಗ	గ	ഗ
gh		ಘ	ఘ	ഘ
ṅ	ங	ಙ	ఙ	ങ
c	ச	ಚ	చ	ച
ch		ಛ	ఛ	ഛ
j		ಜ	జ	ജ
jh		ಝ	ఝ	ഝ

Phonetic script	Tam	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
ñ	ஞ	ಞ್	ఞ	ഞ
ṭ	ட	ಟ್	ట	ട
ṭh		ಠ್	ఠ	ഠ
ḍ		ಡ್	డ	ഡ
ḍh		ಢ್	ఢ	ഢ
ṇ	ண	ಣ್	ణ	ണ
t	த	ತ್	త	ത
th		ಥ್	థ	ഥ
d		ದ್	ద	ദ
dh		ಧ್	ధ	ധ
n	ந	ನ್	న	ന
p	ப	ಪ್	ప	പ
ph		ಫ್	ఫ	ഫ
b		ಬ್	బ	ബ
bh		ಭ್	భ	ഭ
m	ம	ಮ್	మ	മ
y	ய	ಯ್	య	യ
r	ர	ರ್	ర	ര
l	ல	ಲ್	ల	ല
v	வ	ವ್	వ	വ
ś	ஶ	ಶ್	శ	ശ
ṣ	ஷ	ಷ್	ష	ഷ
s	ஸ	ಸ್	స	സ
h	ஹ	ಹ್	హ	ഹ
ḷ	ள	ಳ್	ళ	ള
ḻ	ழ			
r̲	ற		ఱ	ഴ
ṉ	ன			റ
ts			చ	
dz			జ	

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND ABBREVIATIONS

Tamil

Tolkāppiyam	Tol.
Eḻuttatikāram	Eḻut.
Collatikāram	Col.
Iḷampūraṇam	Iḷam.
Cēṉāvaraiyam	Cēṉā.
Nacciṉārkkiṉiyam	Nac.
Vīracōḻiyam	
Naṉṉūl	Naṉ.
Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam	I. V.
Tolkāppiya-c-collatikāra-k-kuṟippu	
Puṟanāṉūṟu	P. N. & Puṟa.
Akanāṉūṟu	Aka.
Pattuppāṭṭu	Pattu.
Tirukkuṟaḷ	Kuṟaḷ.
Cilappatikāram	Cilap.
Maṇimēkalai	M. M.
Tēvāram	
Nālāyirappirapantam	
Periyatirumoḻi	
Cīvakacintāmaṇi	Cīvaka.
Kamparāmāyaṇam	Kampar.
Kandapurāṇam	Kanda.
Travancore Archaelogical Series	T. A. S.

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Kannaḍa Mēghasandēśa	K. M. S.
Kannaḍa Mahābhāratāmṛta Gaḷaganatha	K. Mah.

Telugu

Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi	Ā. Ś. C.
Bālavyākaraṇamu	T. B. V.
Rukmiṇikalyāṇamu	R. K.
Nīticandrikā	N. C.
Āndhra Mahābhāratamu Vāvilla Edn.	Ā. Mahā.

MALAYALAM

Rāmacaritam ..	R. C.
Malayāḷa Mahābhāratam Janardana Menon ..	M. Mah.
Kēraḷapāṇinīyam ..	K. P.

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SANSKRIT

Ṛgvēda	
Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī ..	Aṣṭ.
Yāska's Nirukta ..	Y. N.
Mahābhāṣya ..	

ABBREVIATION

Primitive Dravidian ..	P. D.
Tamil ..	Tam.
Old Tamil ..	O. T.
Modern Tamil ..	M. T.
Kannaḍa ..	Kan.
Old Kannaḍa ..	O. K.
Modern Kannaḍa ..	M. K
Telugu ..	Tel.
Malayalam ..	Mal

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COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF THE TAMIL LANGUAGE

INTRODUCTION

Dravidian family of Languages is said to comprise Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Tulu, Kudagu, Tuda, Kota, Gond, Kui,[1] Orian and Rajmahal. Of them Dr. Caldwell says that the former *six* may be taken as *cultivated* languages[2] and the latter *six* as *uncultivated* languages.[3] Of the twelve, Tamil *alone* possesses rich literature dating from at least the second century B. C. The literature found in Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam mostly date later than 10th cent. A. D., even though there are found a few inscriptions etc. in each dating a few centuries earlier. It may be definitely stated that no work on literature or inscription dating before 5th or 6th cent. A. D. is found in Telugu, Kannada or Malayalam. The literature in Tulu and Kudagu is said to be of very recent date.

From a detailed examination of the Tamil Literature dating from second cent. B. C. to the 5th cent. A. D., it is clear that Tamil had already undergone *three* stages of growth.

On comparing some forms in Telugu and Kannada with those in Tamil, one can clearly see that the former two agree with the Tamil forms of the 5th cent. A. D. It is a question to be decided hereafter whether Tamil, Telugu and Kannada happened to be the *dialects* of one language till about the 5th cent. and then developed themselves into separate languages. On comparing some forms in Malayalam with those in Tamil, they agree with the forms of the latter belonging to later than 5th or 6th cent. A close examination of the Rāmacaritam in Malayalam

1. *Kui* is a corruption of, or the primitive, Telugu itself. (An introduction to the grammar of the Kui or Kandh language by Lingum Letchmajee.)
2. The word 'Languages' is used here in the place of 'Dialects' used by Dr. Caldwell.

cannot but enable one to decide that both, Tamil and Malayalam, should have remained *dialects* of the same language till about the 10th cent. A. D.

As regards Tamil of the present day, one should note that Tamil as spoken in the Districts of Tanjore and Trichinopoly differs from that spoken in South Arcot and Chingleput, from that spoken in Tinnevelly and Jaffna and also from that spoken in Salem and Coimbatore. They may be considered as the different dialects of the Modern Tamil.

If the twelve languages Tamil, Telugu etc. mentioned above had separate existence, it may be presumed that they can be traced further back to one parent language. It is named here the Primitive Dravidian.

It has been said by philologists [1] that languages may be inferred to have genealogical relationship if they possess large proportion of words or at least root-elements of words having *correspondence* in shape especially in words designating common objects like men, relations, animals, parts of the body, elements, trees, creepers etc. or expressing common actions or states like being, eating, drinking, sleeping, ascending, descending, ploughing, weaving etc., or such words as pronouns—personal, indefinite, reflexive etc., numerals, particles, suffixes etc. and also if they resemble in the systems of verbal conjugation and of nominal and pronominal declension.

"In as much as no language remains stable in its grammar any more than in its words and pronunciation, but each passes through a more or less rapid evolution of its own", it is necessary for a philologist to know the *history of the languages* which he handles.

The intention here is to show how far the languages Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam and to a small extent Tulu also, satisfy the criteria mentioned above, so that they may be said to be genealogically related.

1. *Cf.* Introduction to the Natural History of Language by T. G. Tucker, Chap. VI.

As has already been pointed out, Tamil possesses materials dating from at least 2nd cent. B. C., while the materials furnished by other languages *mostly* date later than 10th cent. A. D. Still it may be possible that certain forms in the languages other than Tamil may have been preserved from dates far behind.

(*a*) **Words designating men, relations and parts of the body:—**

Tam.	Tel.	Kan.	Mal.	Tu.	Meaning
āṇ	..	āṇ	āṇ	āṇ	Male
peṇṭu	peṇṭi	peṇḍa	peṇḍi	..	Woman
tāy	tāyi talli	tāy	tāy	..	Mother
(O)[1] tantai (M)[2] tandai tande (coll)	taṇḍri	tande	tanta	..	Father
aṇṇan aṇṇā aṇṇē (coll)	anna	aṇṇa	aṇṇan	aṇṇe	Elder brother
(O) tampi (M) tambi	tammuḍu	tamma	tambi	..	Younger brother
akkā	akka	akka	akka	akka	Elder sister
(O) taṅkai (M) taṅgai taṅge (coll.)	..	taṅgi	taṅka	..	Younger sister
(O) uṭal (M) uḍal oḍal (coll)	oḍalu	oḍal	uḍal	uḍal	Body
kai	cēyi	kai	kai	kai	Hand
kāl	kālu	kāl	kāl	kālu	Leg
viral	vrēlu	berel	viral	berel	Finger

1. O=Old
2. M=Modern

Tam.	Tel.	Kan.	Mal.	Tu.	Meaning
kaṇ	kannu	kaṇ	kaṇ	kaṇ	Eye
(O) cevi (M) śevi	cevi	kivi	cevi	kevi	Ear
nākkŭ	nāluka	nālage	nākkŭ	nālāyi	Tongue
mūkkŭ	mūkku	mūgu	mūkkŭ	mūku	Nose
uyir	usuru	usir	uyir	usuru	Life
mey	mai	mai			Body
(O) kuruṭŭ (M) kuruḍŭ	guḍḍi	kuruḍu	kuruṭan		Blind
(O) ceviṭŭ (M) śeviḍŭ	cevuḍu	kiviḍu	ceviṭŭ		Deaf
(O) noṇṭi (M) noṇḍi	moṇḍi kuṇṭi	kuṇṭa	noṇṭi		Lame

(*h*) **Words designating animals, reptiles etc. :—**

Tam.	Tel.	Kan.	Mal.	Tu.	Meaning
ā āṉ	āvu	ā	ān	ā	Cow
erumai	enumu	emme	eruma	erme	Buffalo
(O) āṭŭ (M) āḍŭ		āḍu	āḍu		Goat or Sheep
maṟi		mari	mari	mari	Young of Sheep
(O) kutirai (M) kudirai kudire (coll)	kudira	kudure	kutira	kudure	Horse
(O) yāṉai (M) āṉai āṉe (coll)	ēnugu	āne	āna		Elephant
(O) kaḻutai (M) kaḻudai	gāḍida	kaḻte	kaḻuta	katte	Donkey
(O) kuraṅkŭ (M) kuraṅgŭ	kōṁti kōti	kuraṅgi	kuraṅṅŭ		Monkey
nāy nāi		nāy	nāy	nāy	Dog
paṉṟi	pandi	pandi	panni	pañji	Pig
(O) karaṭi (M) karaḍi		karaḍi	karaḍi	karaḍi	Bear

Tam.	Tel.	Kan.	Mal.	Tu.	Meaning
puli pili (coll)	puli	puli	puli	pilli	Tiger
(O) pāmpu (M) pāmbu	pāmu	pāvu	pāmpu	pāvu	Serpent
eli	eluka	eli	eli	eli	Rat
tavaḷai	..	tavaḷa	tavaḷa	..	Frog

(*c*) **Words designating elements etc. :—**

viṇ	vinnu	binnu	viṇṇu	binnu	Sky
vaḷi	gāli	gāḷi	vaḷi	..	Air
nīr	nīru	nīṭa nīru	nīr	..	Water
tī	..	tī	tī	..	Fire
maṇ	mannu	maṇṇu	maṇ maṇṇu	..	Earth
(O) pukai (M) pohai pohe (coll)	poga	poga	puga		Smoke

(*d*) **Words designating trees, creepers etc. :—**

maram	mrānu	mara	maram	mara	Tree
(O) teṅku (M) teṅgu	ṭeṅkāya	teṅgu	teṅṅu		Cocoanut tree
paṉai		pane	pana		Palm tree
(O) ceṭi (M) śeḍi	ceṭṭu	giḍa	cedi		Plant
(O) koṭi (M) koḍi			koṭi	koḍi	Creeper
nār	nāra	nār	nār	nāru	Fibre
niḻal	nīḍa[1]	neḻal	niḻal		Shadow

1. *Nīḍa* (singular) seems to have been secreted from the original singular *nīḍalu* as English *ox* is from *oxen*.

(*e*) **Words denoting house, part of a house and those of daily occurrence :—**

Tam.	Tel.	Kan.	Mal.	Tu.	Meaning
il	illu		il	..	House
maṉai	maniki	mane	mana	..	Site
tiṇṇai	tinne	diṇṇe	tiṇṇa	..	Raised portion near the entrance to a house
tīṉi [1]	tiṇṭi	tīni	tīn	tīni	Food
kūḻ	kūḍu	kūḻ kūḷu	kūḻ	kūḷu	Porridge
tēṉ	tēne	jēnu	tēn		Honey
tittippu	tīpu	sihi			Sweetness
puḷi	pulusu	puli			Sourness
kaippu		kaypu	kaippu		Bitterness
nāṟṟam [2] nāttam (coll)		nāta nāṟu	nāṟṟam	nāta	Scent
(O) uṭai (M) uḍai uḍuppu	uḍupu	uḍe uḍupu	uḍa uṭupppu		Dress
(O) tuti	tudi	tudi			End
(O) naṭu (M) naḍu	naḍumu	naḍu	naṭu	naḍu	Middle
(O) ūcal (O) ūñcal (M) ūñjal	uyyala	uyyal	ūñjal		Swing
peyar pēr	pēru	pesar hesar	peyar pēr		Name
māṟṟam	māṭa	mātu			Word

1. This word is now used generally to denote the food of animals or the light refreshment given to men in a contemptible way.
2. Its present meaning is *foul scent*.

Tam.	Tel.	Kan.	Mal.	Tu.	Meaning
nōṉpu nōmpu (coll)	nōmu	nōmpu	nōṉpu	nōmpu	Ceremonial fasting
kaṉā kaṉavu	kala	kanasu	kināvu	kana	Dream
nāḷ	nāḍu	nāḷ	nāḷ	..	Day
nēṟṟu	ninna	ninne	..	..	Yesterday
(O) ciṟṟam (M) śiṟṟam	..	siṭṭu	ciṟṟam	..	Anger
vēṭṭai	vēṭa	bēṭa	vēṭṭai	..	Hunting
kappam	kappamu	kappa	kappam	..	Tribute
nettam in nettap- palakai	net- tambu	netta in netta- palage	..	..	Play at dice
(O) kēṭu (M) kēḍu	cēṭu kīḍu	kēḍu	kēṭu	kēḍu	Ruin

(*f*) **Roots expressing common actions or states:—**

uṇar-	..	oṇar-	uṇar	..	To feel
aṟi-	eṟuṁgu-	aṟi-	aṟi-	..	To know
eṉ-	ennu-	eṇṇu-	eṇṇu-	eṇṇu	To think
pō-	pō-	pōgu- (O) hōgu- (M)	pō	..	To go
vā-	rā-	bā-	vā	bā	To come
koḷ-	konu-	koḷ-	koḷ	..	To take hold of
paṟṟu- pattu (coll)	..	pattu	paṟṟu	..	To adhere
(O) eṭu- (M) eḍu-	ettu-	ettu-	eḍu-	..	To take
(O) aṭi- (M) aḍi-	aḍucu-	aḍacu	aṭi	..	To beat
tiṉ-	tinu-	tin-	tinnuka-	..	To eat
mēy-	mēyu-	mēyu-	mēy-	..	To graze
(O) kuṭi- (M) kuḍi-	kuḍucu-	kuḍi-	kuṭi-	..	To drink
kāṇ-	kanu-	kāṇ-	kāṇ-	..	To see
puṇar-		poṇar-	puṇar-	..	To copulate

Tam.	Tel.	Kan.	Mal.	Tu.	Meaning
(O) uṟaṅku- (M) uṟaṅgu-		oṟaṅgu-	uṟaṅṅu-	..	To sleep
(O) toṭaṅku- (M) toḍaṅgu-	toḍegu-	toḍaṅku-	tuṭaṅṅu	..	To commence
ēṟu-	ekku- (perh. from ērkku)	ēṟu-	ēṟu-	ēṟu-	To ascend
iḻi-		iḻi- iḷi-	iḻi-	iḷi-	To descend
uḻu-		uḷu-	uḻu-	ūḍ-	To plough
ney-	nēyu-	ney-	ney-	..	To weave
iru-	iru-	iru-	iri-	..	To be
ā	ā	ā	ā		To become

(g) **Pronouns** :—

Tam.	Tel.	Kan.	Mal.	Tu.	Meaning
(O) yāṉ (M) yāṉ nāṉ	ēnu nēnu	ān nānu	ñān	..	I
eṉakkŭ	nāku	enage nanage	enikkŭ enakkŭ	..	To me
eṉṉai	nannunu nannu nanu	nannannu nanna	enne	..	Me
(O) nām yām (M) nām yām nāṅgaḷ yāṅgaḷ	ēmu nēmu mēmu manamu	ām nāvu	nam ñaṅṅaḷ nammaḷ	..	We
namakkŭ emakkŭ	māku manaki	namage	namukkŭ	..	To us
nī	īvu nīvu	nīn nīnu	nī	..	Thou
(O) niṉakkŭ (M) uṉakkŭ	nīku	ninage	ninakkŭ	..	To thee
(O) nīr niyir nīvir (M) nīr nīṅgaḷ	īru iralu mīru mīralu	(O) nīm (M) nīvu	ninnaḷ	..	You

Tam.	Tel.	Kan.	Mal.	Tul.	Meaning
(O) numakkŭ (M) umakkŭ uṅgaḷukkŭ	mīku	nimage	..	..	To you
avaṉ	vāḍu ataḍu	(O) avam ātam (M) avanu ātanu	avan	..	He
avaṉukkŭ	vāniki ataniki	avanige	..	..	To him
avaḷ	āme	(O) avaḷ (M) avaḷu	avaḷ	..	To her
(O) avar (M) avar avargaḷ	vāru	(O) avar avargaḷ (M) avaru avargaḷu	avar	..	They
(O) atu (M) adŭ	adi	adu	atŭ	..	It
avai avaikaḷ (coll) adukaḷ (coll)	avi	(O) avu (M) avu avugaḷu	ava avakaḷ atukaḷ	..	They (neuter)
cila	..	kelavu kelavugaḷu	..	..	Some
palar	paluvuru	palar palabar palambar palavar	..	..	Many persons
tāṉ	tānu	(O) tān (M) tānu	..	..	Oneself
oṉṟŭ oṉṉu (coll)	oṇḍu	ondu	onnu	oñji	One
(O) iraṇṭŭ (M) iraṇḍŭ reṇḍŭ (coll)	reṇḍu	iraḍu eraḍu	raṇḍu	raḍḍu	Two
mūṉṟŭ mūnŭ (coll)	mūḍu	mūru	mūnnu	muji	Three
oruvaṉ	okaḍu	(O) orbam (M) obbanu	oruvan		One man
oruvar	orulu	obbaru			One man or woman

Tam.	Tel.	Kan.	Mal.	Tu.	Meaning
iruvar	iddaru iruguru iruvaru	irbar (O) ibbaru (M)			Two persons
mūvar	mugguru mūguru mūvuru	mūvaru			Three persons

In morphology there is close resemblance among the four languages. Words (both nouns and verbs) are classified into *rational* and *irrational*. Rational words are those which denote rational beings and irrational words are those which denote all other than rational beings. Tamil names *them* as *uyar-tiṇai*[1] and *a∴riṇai* and Telugu[2] *mahat* and *amahat*. Rational words are classified under three heads:—those that denote a single male, those that denote a single female and those that denote a male and a female or males or females or both. They are respectively called in Tamil *āṭūuvaṟicol* or *āṇpāl*, *makaṭūuvaṟicol* or *peṇpāl* and *pallōr-aṟiyuñcol* or *palarpāl*.[3] The same is seen in Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam, though these names are not given there.

Even though it seems from this sūtra that words denoting rational females are taken as *amahat*, still the expressions like *vāru iddaru rukmiṇi-satyabhāmulu* sanctioned by the sūtra *sarvanāma-kriyā-padambula bahuvacanambu mahattunakumbōle mahatikagu* (Bālavyākaraṇa p. 63) show that the words denoting more than one of rational females were recognised as rational though that denoting one died out of existence.

1. *Cf.* *Uyartiṇai y-eṉmaṉār makkaṭ-cuṭṭē*
A∴riṇai y-eṉmaṉā ṟ-avarala piṟavē
Ā-y-iru tiṇaiyi ṉ-icaikkumaṉa collē. (Tol. Col. 1)

2. *Cf.* Strī-paśu-jaḍān vinā anyē mahadākhyāḥ...... -
(Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi 3, 9)

3 *Cf.* *Āṭūu v-aṟi-coṉ makaṭūu v-aṟi-col*
Pallō ṟ-aṟiyuñ colloṭu civaṇi
A-m-mup pāṟ-co l-uyar-tiṇai y-a-v-v-ē. (*ibid.* 2)
Āṇ-peṇ palar-eṉa muppāṟ ṟ-uyar-tiṇai (Naṉṉūl. 262)

Irrational words are classified under two heads:—those that denote one irrational being and those that denote more than one irrational being. They are respectively called *onraṟicol* or *onranpāl* and *palavaṟicol* or *palavinpāl*.[1] In Tamil and old Malayalam the suffix *ṉ* and in Kannaḍa, Telugu and modern Malayalam the suffix *n*, denote *āṇpāl*,[2] *ḷ*, the *peṇpāl*, *r*, the

1. *Cf.* *Oṉṟari col-l-ē pala-v-aṟi col-l-eṉṟu*
Ā-y-iru pāṟ-co l-a∴ṟiṇai y-a-v-v-ē. (Tol. Col. 3)
Oṉṟē pala-v-eṉ ṟiru-pāṟ ṟ-a∴ṟiṇai. (Naṉṉūl. 263)
Āṇpāl = rational masc. sing.
Peṇpāl = rational fem. sing.
Palarpāl = epicene plural.

2. *Cf.* *Na∴ kā ṉ-oṟṟē y-āṭūu v-aṟicol.* (Tol. Col. 5)
& *Aṉ-āṉ aḷ-ā ḷ-eṉṉu nāṉkum*
Oruvar maruṅkiṟ paṭarkkai-c col-l-ē. (*ibid.* 205)

(It deserves to be noted that *a* and *ā* of the verbal terminations *aṉ* and *āṉ*, *aḷ* and *āḷ* are recognised as demonstrative roots and *ṉ* and *ḷ* above are respectively recognised to denote rational masculine singular and rational feminine singular.)

Am-ar-ay-ir-en-evugaḷ akkum
Kramadēkānēkavacanadoḷ pratyēkam
. . . .
. . . .*puruṣatrayakam* (Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa 228)
[*Am* is *an* modified through *aṁ*.]

Cf. *Manakārada paradoḷ-vyañ*
Janam-irdoḍam-illadoḍam-anusvāram saṁ
Janiyipudu . . . . (*ibid.* 172)]

Ān-āḷ-tu-v-āy-ēṉ-ēkattil
Ār-īr-ōm-bahuvinnalum
Ākhyātattinnu-puruṣa-
Pratyayaṅṅaḷ muṟaykkiva (Kēraḷapāṇinīyam. p. 251)

(It deserves to be noted that *ān*, *āḷ* are mentioned here as the third personal masculine and feminine termination in verbs. Since forms like moḻintaṉaṉ (R. C. 11) are found in the Rāmacarita, the earliest extant Malayalam work, *aṉ* also may be mentioned as the masculine termination. Hence *a* of *an* and *ā* of *ān* may respectively be taken as the demonstrative

palarpāl, *tù* or *du*, the *o<u>r</u>ra<u>n</u>pāl* and *a*, the ***palavi<u>n</u>pal***. These suffixes are very regular in verbs, mostly regular in demonstrative pronouns and may be found in nouns.

root and the demonstrative root lengthened. When such is the case, the same author states that ***an*** and ***aḷ*** in the pronouns ***avan*** and ***avaḷ*** denote masculine and feminine.

Cf. *Liṅgapratyayam āvitù*
An-aḷ-lu sarvanāmattil. (*ibid.* p. 152)

It would have been better if he had said that ***n*** and ***ḷ*** above denote masculine and feminine as the author of the *Tolkāppiyam*.

		Finite verb.	Pronoun.
Cf.	*Tam.*	*pukkā<u>n</u>* (entered)	*ava<u>n</u>*
	Kan.	O *pokkam* (,,)	*avan*
		M *pokkanu*	*avanu*
	Tel.	*pōyenu* (he went)	*vāniki* (to him)

(Pōyenu has been generalised in all third person singulars—mas., fem. and neut,)

Mal.	O *pukkān*	*avan*

Similarly *ḷa* ∴ *kā <u>n</u>-ō<u>r</u><u>r</u>ē makaṭùu va<u>r</u>icol* (Tol. Col. 6)

Tam.	O *kotuttāḷ* (she gave)	*avaḷ*
	M *koḍuttāḷ*	
Kan.	O *koṭṭal*	*avaḷ*
	M *koṭṭaḷu*	*avaḷu*

Tel. The expression *vāru iddaru rukminisatyabhāmulu* shows that words denoting more than one female are taken as *mahat*. Hence the feminine singular also should once have been recognised as *mahat*, though only the irrational singular word is now used to denote one female.

Mal.	O *ceytāḷ*	*avaḷ*

Similarly *Ra* ∴ *kā <u>n</u>o<u>r</u><u>r</u>um*....
....
Nēra-t-tō<u>n</u><u>r</u>um palar-ari collē (Tol. Col. 7)

From the above it may be seen that, in the oblique cases of pronouns like *avaṉai, avaḷai, avarai,* gender, number and case are not denoted by *three* separate suffixes, but only by *two* suffixes; of which *one* denotes both gender and number, and the other, the case. Similarly in verbs like *vantāṉ, vantāḷ, vantār,* only one suffix denotes both gender and number. Sanskrit resembles Tamil in having two suffixes denoting the three :—gender, number and case—in the oblique cases of nouns and differs from it in having one suffix denoting gender alone and another denoting both number and case. For instance in the word *dēvasya, a* of *dēva* denotes masculine gender and *sya* denotes singular number and genetive case. Hence it is not safe to decide that Dravidian languages belong to the pure agglutinating type [1] and it is safer to include them among the amalgamating inflectional languages.

Tam.	*pōṉār* (they went)	*avar*
Kan.	O *pokkar* (they entered) M *pokkaru*	*avar* *avaru*
Tel.	*pōyiri* (they went)	*vāru*
Mal.	O *uṟaṅkiṉār* (they slept)	*avar*

Similarly *Oṉṟaṟi kiḷavi ta-ṟa-ṭa v-ūṙnta*
Kuṉṟiya l-ukara-t t iṟuti y-ākum (Tol. Col. 8)

Tam.	*pōyiṟṟu* (it went)	*atu*
Kan.	O *pōytu* (,,) M *hōyitu*	*adu* *adu*
Tel.	*pōyenu* (,,)	*adi*
Mal.	O *pōyitŭ* (,,)	*atu*

Similarly *A-ā-va eṉa varūu m-iṟuti*
Appāṉ mūṉṟē palavaṟi col-l-ē. (*ibid.* 9)

Tam.	*poruntuva* (they suit)	*avai*
Kan.	*amarduvu* (,,)	*avu*
Tel.		*avi*
Mal.		*avu*

(The form *avaykku* in *Mal.* shows that originally *avai* should have existed in place of *ava.*

1. *Cf.* Introduction to the Natural History of Language by T. G. Tucker p. 89.

In forming the oblique cases from pronouns like *yāṉ* glides like *a*, *i* or *u* are inserted between the stem and the case-suffix.

Cf. *Tam.* *yāṉ+ku=eṉ+ku=eṉa+ku=*[1]*eṉakkŭ.*

Kan. *ān+ge=en+ge=*[2]*enage.*

Mal. *yān+ku=en+ku=eni+ku=enikkŭ.*

The modern *ñān* should have been the blended form of *yāṉ* and *nāṉ*.

Mal. *nām+ku=nam+u+ku=namukkŭ.*

Besides, gradation plays its part in the different case-forms of pronouns in all the four languages.

Tam.	*yāṉ*,	*eṉṉai* (accusative case)
Kan.	O *ān* M *nānu*	*nannu* (,,)
Tel.	O *ēnu* M *nēnu*	*nannu* (,,)
Mal.	*ñān*	*enne* (,,)

In forming the oblique cases of nouns, particularly of irrational nouns, flexional increments are added between the stem and the case-suffixes.

Tam.	O *maṭu* (deep water) M *maḍu*	*maṭu-v-iṉ-āṉ*[3] *maḍu-v-iṉ-āl.* (instrumental case).
Kan.	O *maḍu* M *maḍu*	*maḍu-v-in-im*[4] (,,) *maḍu-v-in-inda* (,,)
Tel.	*adi* (it)	*adi+an+in+i=dānini* (accusative case)
Mal.	*adi* (,,)	*adi+in+āl=adināl* (instrumental case)

1. *Āṟa ṉ-urupiṉu nāṉka -ṉ-urupiṉum*
Īṟāku puḷḷi y-akaramoṭu nilaiyum (Eḻut. 162.)

2. ....*ninage yenage*........
....
....
.... (Ś. M. 157.)

3. *Aā uū ē au v-eṉṉum*
Appā l-āṟa ṉilaimoḻi muṉṉar
Vēṟṟumai y-urupiṟ k-iṉ-ṉ-ē cāriyai (Tol. Eḻut. 174.)

4. *Viditam-uvarṇa-rvarṇau-*
Tvadoḷam hrasvaitvadoḷam-ināgamavidhi. (Ś. M. 118.)

There is similarity among the four languages in the conjugation of verbs.

The past tense of finite verbs is sometimes formed by adding the termination after reduplicating the final consonant of the root.

Cf. Tam. *puku*—(to enter)—*pukkāṉ* (he entered).

Kan. { O *pokkkam* / M *pokkanu* }

Mal. pukkān

It is also formed by inserting *tu*, ***du*** or *iṉ* between the root and the termination.

Cf. Tam. *pō*—(to go) { O *pō* + *iṉ* + *āṉ*=*pōyiṉāṉ*. / M *pōṉāṉ* }

Kan. { O *pōdam* / M *hōdanu* }

Tel. *pōyenu*

Mal. *col.* (to say) O *collinān*

The negative voice has the same form for all the three tenses and is sometimes formed by adding the terminations direct to the root.

. *Cf. Tam.* *ceyyāṉ* (he does not do)

Kan. { O *geyyam* (..) / M *geyyanu* }

Tel. pōḍu (he does not go)

Māl. O *ceyyān* (..)

The same negative voice is sometimes formed by inserting *ā* before the termination in Tamil and by inserting *a* before the termination in Kannaḍa and Telugu.

Cf. Tam. *ā* (to become) { O *ākātu* / M *āhādu* }

Kan. *āgadu*

Tel. *kādu*

The optative mood is formed by adding *ka* to the root in Tamil and Malayalam and *ke* or *ge* in Kannaḍa.

Cf. *Tam.* *kaḷai*—(to clean) *kaḷaika* [let him (her, it) clean.]

Mal. *kaḷa*—(,,) *kaḷaka* (,,)

Kan. *tar*— (to take) *tarke* (let him . . take.) / *kuḍu*—(to give) *kuḍuge* (let him . give.)

In the modern period sometimes *vadu* or *vudu* is added to the root to denote the optative mood.

Cf. Tam. Ariñar idaṉai mecci-k kai-k-koḷvadŭ
Knn. vibudhar idam mecci kaikoḷvudu. (Ś. M. 4.)

The passive voice is formed by adding *paṭu* or *paḍu* to the infinitive form or the form of a verbal noun.

Cf. Tam.	O *ceyyappaṭṭatŭ* M *ceyyappaṭṭadŭ*	(it was done)
Kan.	*māḍalpaḍuvadu* (it will be done)	
Tel.	*cēyabaḍinadi* (it was done)	
Mal.	*ceyyappeṭṭŭ* (it was done)	

The indeclinable participial forms are formed in them by adding to the root *i* or *tu* or *du.*

Cf. Tam.	*ari* (to know)	O *arīi* M *arindŭ*
	kāṇ (to see)	O *kaṇṭŭ* M *kaṇḍŭ*
Kan.	*kānu* (to see)	*kaṇḍu*
	meccu (to appreciate)	*mecci*
Tel.	*kanu* (to see)	*kani*
Mal.	*kāṇ* (to see)	*kaṇḍu*
	pō (to go)	*pō-y-i*

Certain phrases consisting of infinitives and finite verbs have been considered to be single words and consequently the roots of the finite verbs have been reduced to the state of auxiliary verbs:—

Tam. M *māṭṭik-koṇḍēṉ* (I was entangled)	*Tel. māṭukonitini* (I was entangled)
M *ceytukoḷvēn* (I will have it done)	*cēsukoṇḍunu* (I will have it done)
M *koṇḍupōm* (you better take)	*konipommu* (you better take)
M *tanduviṭṭadŭ* (it has entirely given)	*Kan. tandubiṭṭitu* (it has entirely given)
M *vandirukkiṟatŭ* (it has come)	*Mal. vannirukkunnu* (it has come)

M *kaṇḍukoḷvōm* (we will find out)	*kaṇṭukoḷḷām* (we will find out)
M *collavēṇḍum* (he, she etc. should say)	*collavēṇṭum* (he, she etc. should say)
collaṇum (coll.)	*collēṇṭum*
	coll aṇam

In all the four languages the verbal system consists of finite verbs, and infinite verbs. The latter may qualify nouns or verbs; if they qualify nouns, they are called *peyar-eccam* in Tamil and Malayalam and if they qualify verbs, they are called *viṉai-y-eccam*.

Tam. ivvāṟu *niṉṟa* pavaṉatanayaṉai nōkki
(having seen Hanūmān who stood thus)

Tel. iṭlu *nilicina* pavanatanayanu avalōkiñci (Āndhra) Mahābhārata Canto II. p. 5)
(the same meaning as above)

Tam. Kaṇṇaṉ taṉakku-t *takunta* kaṇavaṉ *eṉṟu* niṉaittāḷ
(she thought that Kṛṣṇa was the suitable husband to her)

Tel. Kṛṣṇuḍu danakuṁ *dagina* vibhuḍu *ani* talaṁcen
(the same meaning as above) (R. K. p. 12)

Tam. janam *uraikkum* coṟkaḷ (words which people said)
Kan. janam *uḷiva* śabdaṅgaḷ (,,)

Tam. *nacci* vandōm (we came desirous of ...)
Kan. *nacci* bandam (,,)

Tam. mēl *kāṭṭiya* liṅgapratyayaṅgaḷuḍaiya śorūpattai-p *paṟṟi* vicāraṇai śeykiṟēṉ.
(I shall investigate about the nature of words having the gender suffixes noted above)

Mal. mēl *kāṇicca* liṅgapratyayaṅṅaḷuṭe svarūpatte-p-*paṟṟi* vicāraṇa ceyyunnu.
(the same meaning as above).

Some particles also are similar in them.

Tam.	*Kan.*	*Tel.*	*Mal.*	
marrum	*mattam*	*mariyu*	*marrum*	(besides)
pōl	vōl	pōle vale	pōl pōla pōlē	(like)
edāṉum	ettānum	ēdainanu		(whatever)
varai varaikkum	bare	varaku	varē	(till)

The four languages adopt similar principles in *sandhi* —

1. If, of the two words or parts of a word, the former ends in a vowel and the latter commences in a vowel, either the former vowel is dropped or an intervocalic, generally *y* or *v* and in some cases *ṉ*, is inserted between them. In old Tamil the former took place generally when the final vowel was *ŭ* (kurriyal-ukaram = neutral *u*.)

Cf. *Tam.* — naṭukkŭ + iṉrŭ = naṭukkiṉrŭ (P. N. 2)
pala + ē = pala-v-ē (*ibid* 9)
eṉkuvai + āyiṉ = eṉkuvai-y-āyiṉ (*ibid* 13)
Kan. — hattu + eṇṭu = hatteṇṭu (Ś. M. 52)
pala + āgire = pala-v-āgire (K. M. 1, 35)
ora + isidam = ora-y-isidam (Ś. M. 54)
Tel. — bantulu + āḍun = bantulāḍun (R. K. 12)
janmiñci + eduga = janmiñci-y-eduga (*ibid* 11)
Mal. — iruntŭ + aruḷ = iruntaruḷ (R. C. 1)
kariṇi + āy = kariṇi-y-āy (*ibid* 1)
ceriya + ar = ceriya-v-ar (*ibid* 2)
Tam. — ā + iyal = ā-ṉ-iyal (P. N. 4)

2. If the former is one short-syllabled word ending in a consonant and if it is followed by another commencing with a vowel, the final consonant of the former is doubled.

Tam. — kaṇ + āl = kaṇṇāl[1]

1. Kuriyataṉ muṉṉar-t taṉ-ṉ-uru p-iraṭṭalum .. .. (Tol. Eḻut 161)

Kan. — kaṇ + im = kaṇṇim [1]
Mal. — kaṇ + e = kaṇṇe [2]
Tam. — kaṇ + aḻagitŭ = kaṇ-ṇ-aḻagitŭ
Tel. — cēsin + atаḍu = cēsin-n-ataḍu (cēsin-ataḍu)

If the former ends in a consonant and the latter commences with a consonant, one is generally assimilated to the other. The manner of assimilation is not the same in all the four languages. Each has its own peculiar features.

Tam. — *l* before a hard consonant is changed to *ṟ* or *ṉ*.[3]
Ex.—*nāṟpatŭ* (nāl + patu); *aṉṟŭ* (al + tu)
Kan. — *l* before a hard consonant does not change.
Ex.—*nālpattu*; altu.
Mal. — *l* before a hard consonant changes to *ṟ* as in Tamil
Ex.—*akaṟṟunnu* (akal + tunnu)

Tam. — *l* before a nasal is changed to *ṉ*.
Ex.—*nel + maṇi = neṉmaṇi.*
Mal. — *l* before a nasal is changed to *n*.
Ex.—*nel + maṇi = nenmaṇi.*
Tam. — *ṉ* before a hard consonant is changed to *ṟ*.
Ex.—*poṉ + kuṭam = poṟkuṭam.*
Mal. — *n* before a hard consonant is changed to *l*.
Ex.—*pon + kuṭam = polkuṭam* etc.

There is close similarity in idiom and syntax also among the four languages:—

Tam. — avaikaḷukku inda ādēšam varal illai.
Kan. — avugaḷike inta ādēśa baral illa. (Ś. M.)

1. Modaloḷ hrasvaikasvara—
Modave param svaramadāge naṇalayaḷaṅga—
Ḷgudayisigum dvitvam (Ś. M. 79)
2. Ēkamātraprakṛtyantē
Nāsōntam yaḷalaṅṅaḷum
Iraṭṭiccíṭṭŭ tān nilkkum (K. P. 18)
3. Lakāra v-iṟuti ṉakāra v-iyaṟṟē. (Tol. Eḷut. 367)

Tam. — v-akāragamam āgilum prakrutibāvam āgilum varugiradū.
Kan. — vakārāgama vāgali prakṛtibhāvavāgali baruttade.
(Ś. M. p. 10)

Tam. — akārōpataiyāṉa visarggakku lōpam vantirukka, akārakku mēlē kūṟiya yakārāgamam varuvadu illai.

Kan. — akārōpadhavāda visargakke lōpa bandāga, akārakke mēle hēḷida yakārāgamavu baruvadilla. (Ś. M.)

Tam. — akārāntam-allāda iḍattil ellām.
Kan. — akārāntam-allāda eḍeyoḷ ellām (Ś. M. p. 153)

Tam. — vēṟṟumai-y-āṟāgi irukkum
Kan. — vibhakti-y-āṟagirkkum (Ś. M. p. 302)

Tam. — vanda-v-uḍanē koḍuttāṉ
Kan. — baraloḍane koṭṭaṃ (Ś. M. p. 353)

Tam. — irupattaindu varuṉam-avai varukkam
Kan. — irupattaidu varṉamavu vargam (Ś. M. p. 50)

Tam. — kavigaḷ teḷivar
Kan. — kavigaḷ tiḷivivuvar (Ś. M. p. 49)

Tam. — avaṉ vandadum ivaṉ pōṉāṉ
O. *Kan.* — avạn bandadum ivạm pōdam

Tam. — eṉ muyaṟci palattiṟku vandadū
Tel. — nā yātnamu phalamunaku vaccinadi (N. C.)

Tām. — nām i-n-noykku āśai-p-paḍa-k kūḍādū
Tel. — manạmu i-nūkaluku āśa-paḍa rādu (*ibid* p. 8)

Tam. — vāykku vandavaṟṟai-p pidaṟṟukiṟāy
Tel. — nōṅki vaccinavi vadarucuṉṉāvu

Tam. — puṟā iṟaṅkiṉa śattaṅ kēṭṭū
Tel. — kapōtamulu vālina saddu vini

Tam. — idu yār ?
Tel. — idi yevaṛu ?

Tam. — irāmaṉai-p-pārkka anniyaṉ villāḷi-y-allaṉ
Tel. — irāmuni-kaṇṭe n-anyuṇḍu dhānuṣkaṁḍu lēḍu.

Tam. — maṉitaruḷ vēntaṉ śūraṉ.
Tel. — manuṣyuḷa-lōpala kṣatriyuṇḍu śūruḍu.

Tam. — idaṉiṉiṟu yām aṟiyavēṇḍuvadu yādū ?
Mal. — itilninnu nām grahikkēṇṭatu ettū ?

Tam. — samayam kaḻikka vēṇḍum.
Mal. — vēṇam samayam kaḻippāṉ.

Tam. — avaṉ edukoṇḍu edirppadū ?
Mal. — avan entukoṇṭu etirpputū (R. C. 78)

Tam. — munivar cōdikka, sūtaṉ kūṟiya katai
Mal. — munimār cōdiccittu, sūtan paraññа katha

Tam. — kuḷikkutaṟku-p pōkiṟāṉ
Mal. — kuḷikkunnatinu pōkunnu.

The Primitive Dravidian could not have been allied to the Indo-European language, but should have been completely separate from her. This may be inferred from the differences that existed between old Tamil and ancient Sanskrit. They are as follows :—

1. The morphology of Tamil nouns is different from that in Sanskrit nouns :—

(*a*) Nouns in Sanskrit are generally analysed into root, *gender-forming affix* and *number-case-forming affix* (i e.) one affix denotes gender and another affix denotes both number and case. On the other hand, most of the nouns in Tamil which are capable of being derived from roots (verbal or pronominal) are analysed into root, *gender-number-forming* affix and *case-forming affix*. For instance in the Sanskrit word *dēvam*, the *a* denotes masculine gender and *am* (*a* being elided) denotes the accusative singular: in the Tamil word *tēvaṉai*, *ṉ* denotes masculine singular and *ai* denotes accusative case; similarly in the Sanskrit word *dēvān*, *a* denotes masculine gender and *an* denotes accusative plural : in the Tamil word *tēvarai*, *r* denotes epicene plural and *ai* denotes accusative case; the form *tēvarkaḷai* did not exist at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār, since he plainly states that the pluralising particle *kaḷ* was optionally used only in *a∴ṟiṇai* nouns[1]: hence *tēvarkaḷai* is a case of

1. Tol. Col. 169.

double plural like English *children* and the form *vacukkaḷai* came into existence in later Tamil. The same is invariably seen among pronouns: in the Tamil word *avaṉai* and *avarai*, *ṉ* and *r* respectively denote masculine singular and epicene plural and *ai* denotes the accusative case.

(*b*) Besides, the nouns in Tamil which denote their gender and number through their meaning have for their stem only the nominative case singular form; for instance *alavaṉ* which means 'a crab' and *makkaḷ* which means 'human beings' do not denote their gender and number through the suffixes *ṉ* and *ḷ*, but their gender and number are determined only through their meaning: hence the oblique cases are formed by adding the case-suffixes to the forms *alavaṉ* and *makkaḷ*. But, in Sanskrit, nouns which do not end in a consonant or *i* generally denote their grammatical gender only through their suffix.

(*c*) Old Tamil may have the same form in *a∴riṇai* nouns both in singular and plural: for instance the word *māṭṭ* may mean both *ox* and *oxen*: in the sentence *māṭṭ vantatù*, it is singular because it takes a singular verb and in the sentence *māṭṭ vantaṉa*, it is plural since it takes a plural verb; similarly it is singular if it is qualified by the word *oru*, as in *oru māṭṭ* and it is plural if it is qualified by words which mean more than one, as in *iraṇṭù māṭṭ* or *iru māṭṭ* etc.

(*d*) All case-suffixes may be dropped in Tamil nouns if they stand before the verbs which they qualify and the second case-suffix and the seventh case-suffix even if they follow verbs. This is not permissible in classical Sanskrit.

(*e*) The use of flexional increments between the stem and the case-suffix which is found in Tamil is not found in Sanskrit.

(*f*) There are no relative pronouns in Tamil as in Sanskrit.

(*g*) In old Tamil, the pronouns of the first person were considered only to be rational; it was not so in Sanskrit.

2. Verb morphology in Tamil differs from that in Sanskrit:

(*a*) The terminations *ṉ*, *ḷ*, *r*, *tù* and *a* invariably denote masculine singular, feminine singular, epicene plural, neuter

singular and neuter plural; for instance the Tamil words *ceytāṉ*, *ceytāḷ* and *ceytatu* respectively mean 'he did', 'she did' and 'it did' and *ceytār* and *ceytaṉa* respectively mean 'they (human beings) did' and 'they (non-human beings) did'. But in Sanskrit one termination denotes the masculine singular, feminine singular and neuter singular and another denotes masculine plural, feminine plural and neuter plural; for instance the Sanskrit word *akarōt* means 'he did,' 'she did' and 'it did' and the word *akurvan* means 'they did.'

(*b*) The element *t* in the Tamil word *ceytāṉ* is considered to denote the past tense, while the initial *a* in *akarōt* is considered to denote the same.

(*c*) The Tamil verbal system is much simpler than the Sanskrit verbal system. In the former there are only three moods—indicative, optative and infinitive; the indicative mood has different forms in the three different tenses-past, present and future and in the different persons and numbers: the optative mood has the same form both in singular and plural; it was used only in the third person in old Tamil and it began to be extended to all persons in later Tamil; the verb in the infinitive mood is primarily divided into two kinds;—one is called *peyar-eccam* since it qualifies a noun and the other is called *viṉai-y-eccam* since it governs a verb; the *peyar-eccam* has the same form in all persons and numbers: in old Tamil the same form was used both in the present and the future tenses and a different form in the past-tense; but in later Tamil the old form was restricted to denote the future and a new form has come in to denote the present; the *viṉai-y-eccam* has the same form in all tenses, persons and numbers though it has different forms to denote different kinds of infinitive action. It is as follows:—

Indicative mood—Past tense.

	Singular.	*Plural.*
I Person.	ceytēṉ (I did)	ceytōm (we did)
II „	ceytāy (you did)	ceytīr (you did)
III „	ceytāṉ (he did)	ceytār (they human beings did)
	ceytāḷ (she did)	ceytaṉa (They non-human beings did)
	ceytatu (it did)	

Present-tense—Old Tamil

	Singular.	*Plural.*
III Person	avaṉ ceyyum (he does)	
	avaḷ ceyyum (she does)	
	atu ceyyum (it does)	avai ceyyum (they—non-human beings—do)

Modern Tamil

I Person	ceykiṟēṉ (I do)	ceykiṟōm (we do) [1]
II ,,	ceykiṟāy (you do)	ceykiṟīr (you do)
III ,,	ceykiṟāṉ (he does)	ceykiṟār (They—human beings do)
	ceykiṟāḷ (she does)	
	ceykiṟatu (it does)	ceykiṉṟaṉa (They—non-human beings do)

Future tense—Modern Tamil

I ,,	ceyvēṉ (I shall do)	ceyvōm (we shall do)
II ,,	ceyvāy (you will do)	ceyvīr (you will do)
III ,,	ceyvāṉ (he will do)	ceyvār (they—human beings—will do)
	ceyvāḷ (she will do)	
	ceyyum (it will do)	ceyyum (they—non-human beings—will do)

Optative mood—Old Tamil

III Person	avaṉ ceyka (let him do)	avar ceyka (let them—human beings do)
	avaḷ ceyka (let her do)	
	atu ceyka (let it do)	avai ceyka (let them—non-human beings—do)

Modern Tamil

I Person	nāṉ ceyka	nām ceyka
II ,,	nī ceyka	nīr ceyka
III ,,	avaṉ ceyka	avar ceyka
	avaḷ ceyka	
	atu ceyka	avai ceyka

1. *c* is pronounced as *c* in Tinnevelly and as *ś* in Tanjore and Trichinopoly.

Infinitive mood—Peyar-eccam or relative participle.

Old Tamil

Present and future relative participle—ceyyum
Past relative participle—ceyta

Modern Tamil

Past relative participle—ceyta
Present relative participle—ceykiṉṟa
Future relative participle—ceyyum

Viṉai-y-eccam

Old Tamil—ceytu, ceypu, ceyiṉ, ceya, ceyaṟku etc., ceyteṉa, ceyyiya.
Modern Tamil—ceytu, ceyyā, ceytāl, ceya etc.

Besides there is, in Tamil, a negative voice which is of different types :—ceyyēṉ allēṉ (I will not do), ceyyalēṉ, ceyyēṉ, ceytilēṉ, ceyyāṉ etc. Sometimes the verb in the negative voice may have the same form as that in the affirmative voice *viz*., aruḷāṉ, (he will show favour *or* he will not show favour.)

On the other hand the verbal system in Sanskrit is very complicated. There are more moods :—indicative, imperative, subjunctive, benedictive, injunctive etc.; there are three tenses to denote the past action—imperfect, aorist and perfect; there are two futures :—the first future and the second future ; there are different conjugations for each tense : reduplication plays a predominent part here ; those that do the service of *peyar-eccam* here are all declinable like nouns ; they assume different forms according to the gender, number and case of the nouns which they qualify. There is no negative voice here as in Tamil. The passive voice is a speciality in Sanskrit ; which, in Tamil forms like *eṉa-p-paṭupa* may be taken as periphrastic formation made up of a *viṉai-y-eccam eṉa* and a finite verb *paṭupa*. Sanskrit does not possess a form like *ceyiṉ* which denotes condition. Sanskrit possesses two kinds of terminations called *ātmanēpada* and *parasmāipada* ; this is absolutely absent in Tamil.

Besides Tamil possesses the capacity to form causal verbs of the second move, third move etc. of the type *kāṭṭiṉāṉ*, *kāṭṭivittāṉ*, *kāṭṭivippittāṉ*, *kāṭṭivippivittāṉ* etc.; Sanskrit has the capacity to form the causal only of the first move, *viz.*, *kārayati*.

3. The classification of nouns and verbs into rational and irrational, and the further classification into *āṇpāl*, *peṇpāl*, *palarpāl*, *oṉraṉpāl* and *palaviṉpāl*, which are found in Tamil are foreign to Sanskrit.

4. In Phonology too Tamil differs from Sanskrit.

(*a*) Tamil *ē* and *ō* are simple sonants both in pronunciation and in function; Sanskrit *ē* and *ō* are diphthongs in function (i.e.) if they are followed by vowels, they are generally changed to *ay* and *av*. Tamil *ai* and *au* are changed to *ay* and *au*, while Sanskrit *āi* and *āu* are changed to *āy* and *āv*.

(*b*) The *sandhi* between two words in Tamil cannot be effected unless the meaning of the two words are known; this is absolutely unnecessary in Sanskrit *sandhi*. If the former word ends in a sonant and the succeeding word commences in a sonant, the general rule in Tamil is to introduce an intervocalic—generally *y* or *v*, but it is a rarity in Sanskrit.

(*c*) Conjunct consonants do not commence a word in Tamil as in Sanskrit; so also were the sounds *ṭ*, *r* and *l* in old Tamil could not commence a word as in Sanskrit.

(d) The part played by gradation is very great in Sanskrit and very small in Tamil.

5. In syntax also there is a great divergence between the two languages.

(*a*) Two or more finite verbs can be connected by the copulative particle *ca* in Sanskrit *viz*, *Rāmah vanam agamat, tatra uvāsa ca*. Such a usage is against the genius of the Tamil language: they can never be connected by the copulative particle *um*; ordinarily an infinitive verb or verbs should be used to

modify one finite verb: if, on the other hand, finite verbs are used together, they are considered to be finite verbs in form and infinitives in sense.

(*b*) If a verb takes for its subject or object a noun which denotes all the objects which it can denote, the particle *um* precedes the verb viz. *Tamiḻvēntar mūvarum vantaṉar* (All the three Tamil kings came); *Murukaṉatu paṉṉirukaiyaiyum alaṅkarittaṉar* (They adorned all the twelve hands of Murukaṉ).

(*c*) If one knows that a person came and does not know whether the person is male or female, Tamil uses *oruvar vantār*, where the stem *oru* denotes one object and the suffix *r* and the verb *vantār* are plural; similarly sentences like *avaṉō avaḷō vantār* is used with the verb in the plural number. Such a usage is not found in Sanskrit, since the singular verb has the same form in the masculine and feminine genders.

(*d*) Locative absolute and genetive absolute are found in Sanskrit. *Ex.—Rāmē vanam gatē, Daśarathaḥ pañcatvam avāpa* (when Rama had gone to forest, Daśaratha died); *paśyataḥ gurōḥ māṇavakāḥ śabdam kurvanti* (when the teacher is seeing, pupils make noise). They are not found in Tamil. Such absolutes found in Tamil as *Katiravaṉ tōṉṟa nām ceṉṟōm* (Sun rising, we went) are absent in Sanskrit.

(*e*) When the third case is used in Sanskrit in the sense of association, it is always used after the noun which denotes the less important of the two *viz.* Rāmaḥ Lakṣmaṇēna vanam agamat (Rāma went to forest with Lakṣmaṇa); it is quite the reverse in old Tamil[1]. But in later Tamil it began to be used promiscuously: hence Kambanāṭṭāḻvār uses the word *tampitaṉṉoṭù* (Kamparā).

(*f*) Nouns in oblique cases may be used conveying the sense of an oblique case without the proper case-suffix, if such nouns precede the verb which they qualify. The seventh

1. *Cf.* Oruviṉai y-oṭu-c-co l-uyar-piṉ vaḻittē. (Tol. col. 91)

case-suffix and the second case-suffix may be dropped even when such nouns follow the verb they qualify. Such a usage is not generally found in Sanskrit, though in Vēdic verses, the whole case-suffix or a portion of it is found dropped for the sake of metre.

(*g*) The use of a finite verbal form with case-suffixes added to it so that it gives the sense of a participial noun and the use of a verbal termination after a noun to give the sense of an appellative verb is the genius of the old Tamil: *viz.*, *vantēṉukku-k koṭu.* (Give me who came); ***Nāṉ nāyēṉ*** (I am like a dog); it is absent in Sanskrit.

1. PHONOLOGY

1·1 *Primitive Dravidian system of sounds*

Sounds may be classified into *sonants* and *consonants*. It is always useful to remember that it is not necessary that all the sounds that existed in the Primitive Dravidian should be present in the separate languages and should be pronounced in them exactly in the same way as they were pronounced in the Parent Language, nor is it necessary that new sounds should not have crept in the separate languages in the process of their growth.

In order to determine the sounds in the Primitive Dravidian I have to be guided only by the sounds that should have existed in Tamil in about the second century B. C., which can be inferred from a close study of the earliest extant Tamil work Tolkāppiyam, since the evidences that can be collected from other related languages are of much later origin, and since the sounds that are now found in them cannot be safely taken to have existed in their earliest stage, nor to have been pronounced in the same way as they are now pronounced.

1·11 *P. D. Sonants.*

Sonants [1] may be classified under (1) Simple (2) Diphthong and (3) Neutral. Simple sonants may be either short or long.

Simple sonants. { Short : a, i, u, e & o.
{ Long : ā, ī, ū, ē & ō.

1. Sonants are the sounds that can be pronounced without the help of other sounds.

Diphthongs	ai & au
Neutral sonants.	*ï* (kuṟṟiyal-ikaram)[1], *ü* (kuṟṟiyal-ukaram)[2]

1·111 *Development of P. D. Sonants in Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam.*

P.D.	*Tam.* (O)	*Tam.* (M)	*Kan.* (O)	*Kan.* (M)	*Tel.* (O)	*Tel.* (M)	*Mal.* (O)	*Mal.* (M)
a[3]	*a*	*a* *e*	*a*	*a* } *e* }		*a* } *e* }		*a*
	kaṇ	kaṇṇü (coll)	kaṇ	kaṇṇu		kanu	kaṇ	kaṇṇü

1. *ï* is a sound pronounced before '*y*' with half a *mātrā* (the quantity needed to pronounce a short vowel) without stretching the lips as wide as is needed to pronounce the simple *i*.

2. *ü* is the sound which is generally found in old Tamil at the end of words immediately after *k, c, ṭ, t, p* & *ṟ* in words having more than two *mātrās*; it is now found at the end of words irrespective of their quantity or the quality of the preceding consonant.

3. Dr. Caldwell says that, "the sound of these vowels (*a, ā*) in the Dravidian languages corresponds to their sound in Sanskrit, as pronounced everywhere in India except in Bengal where *a* is pronounced as *o.*" (C. D. G. p. 133) The final *a* in Sanskrit words is *saṁvṛta* (closed sound) according to Pāṇini's sūtra '*a a*' at the end of Aṣṭādhyāyī. The closed *a* may almost resemble *o* and hence the pronunciation in Bengal is what it was in the ancient period. It is now pronounced in Southern India only as *vivṛta*. It may have been due to the influence of Dravidian Languages. He further says that 'it evinces a tendency to be weakened into *e*' (C. D. G. p. 133). Since it is

P.D.	*Tam.* (O)	*Tam.* (M)	*Kan.* (O)	*Kan.* (M)	*Tel.* (O)	*Tel.* (M)	*Mal.* (O)	*Mal.* (M)
	maṟati } maṟappu }			maṟapu		maṟapu		maṟati
	kaṟai	kaṟe (coll.)	kaṟe	kaṟe		kaṟa		kaṟa
	kalakkŭ		kalaku			kalaṁtcu kalaku		kalakku
	vaḷar-			beḷe				vaḷar

found that such a change is not seen in pure Tamil words in the ancient period, that such a change is seen only in tadbhava words from Sanskrit where *a* follows the third letter of each verga (i.e.) *g*, *j*, *ḍ* *d* and *b* and that these sounds are generally pronounced as *gə*, *jə*, *ḍə*, *də* and *bə*, it is not safe to accept Dr. Caldwell's statement. (*Cf.* H. G. T. pp. 21–23)

He further observes that "*a* has almost entirely disappeared from the end of nouns in Tamil and has been succeeded by *u* or *ei*. Where final *a* changes into *ei* in Tamil, it generally changes into *e* in Canarese. In Telugu and especially in Malayalam, this vowel is less subject to change". (C. D. G. p. 133). Considering that the ancient Tamil words like *yāṉai* are now pronounced as *yāṉe* and words like *avai*, *ivai* etc. are found in Tolkāppiyam, the earliest extant book in the Dravidian languages and forms like *avaikkŭ* in Malayalam clearly show that the modern words *ava* and *iva* should have passed through the intermediate stage of *avay* and *ivay* and *ai* is generally replaced by *ay* in Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayālam and the sūtra

Akara-t t-impar yakara-p puḷḷiyum
Ai-y-e ṉeṭuñciṉai mey-peṟa-t tōṉṟum.

(Tol. Eḻut. 56)

P.D.	*Tam.* (O)	*Tam.* (M)	*Kan.* (O)	*Kan.* (M)	*Tel.* (O)	*Tel.* (M)	*Mal.* (O)	*Mal.* (M)
	payaṟù		pesar					payaṟù
	naṭu	naḍu		neḍu				
	aṟivu	aṟivù		aṟivu		eṟuka		aṟivù
	iraṇṭù	iraṇḍù		eraḍu		reṇḍu*		raṇṭù
	iṟakkai			eṟake		ṟekka *		iṟakù

P. D.	*Tam.* (O)	*Tam.* (M)	*Kan.* (O)	*Kan.* (M)	*Tel.* (O)	*Tel.* (M)	*Mal.* (O)	*Mal.* (M)
ā §	ā	ā	ā	ā	ā	ā	ā	ā
	ō	ō	ē					
	āmai		āme, ēve		tāmēlu			āma
	pāmpù	pāmbù		hāvu	pāmu			pāmbù
	ā	ā	āvu		āvu			
	kāy		kāy		kāya		kāyi	
	tāy		tāy	tāyi	tāyi			
	viṇṇār, viṇṇōr							

clearly sanctions it, it is safer to hold that Tamil words like *kaṟai, kaṭai* are more ancient than the Telugu and Malayalam words *kara* and *kaḍa*. (*Cf.* H. G. T. pp. 23–24)

* The change of the guttural *a* to the palatal *e* in Tamil *reṇḍù* Telugu *reṇḍu* and *ṟekka* may be due to the loss of the initial palatal vowel *i*.

§ Dr. Caldwell observes that 'the long *ā* which is formed in Tamil by the coalescence of two short *a*'s becomes poetically *ō*' (C. D. G. p. 133). Two short *a*'s cannot become *ā* in Tamil and they can become only *ava* with the intervocalic *v* *Cf, śila+aṟam=śila-v-aṟam*. The *ā* of the terminations *āṉ, āḷ, ār* and *āy* in participial nouns may become *ō* in poetry even in the ancient period.

Cf. Ā-v-ō v-ākum peyarum-ā r-uḷa-v-ē
Ā-y-iṭa ṉ-aṟital ceyyuḷ-uḷḷē. (Tol. Col. 195)

P.D.	Tam. (O)	Tam. (M)	Kan. (O)	Kan. (M)	Tel. (O)	Tel. (M)	Mal. (O)	Mal. (M)
i	*i*	*i* ¹*e* (coll) *u*		*i* ¹*e* *u*		*i* ¹*e* *ē*		*i* ¹*e* *u*
	ciṟu	ciṟu śeṟu (coll)		ciṟu		ciṟu		ceṟiya
	*i*ṭam	*i*ḍam *e*ḍam (coll)		*e*ḍe		*e*ḍa		*i*ṭam
	n*i*lam	n*i*lam n*e*lam (coll)		n*i*lavu		n*ē*la		n*i*lam
	c*i*laṟ	ś*i*lar		k*e*lambar				
	cev*i*ṭù	cev*i*ḍù		kiv*u*ḍu [2]		cev*u*ḍu [2]		cev*i*ṭaṉ
	*i*ḷamai	*i*ḷamai						
		*e*ḷamai (coll)		*e*ḷa		*e*la		*i*ḷama

In the modern period the forms *vandōm, ceṉṟōm* are found. They should have been the analogical forms of the origina *vandām, ceṉṟām.* But Śēṉāvaraiyar, a commentator on Tolkāppiyam states that they are the modern forms of *vandēm,* and *ceṉṟēm.* Similar forms are found in Rāmacarita, the earliest extant work in Malayalam:—*utakkuvōr* (*Tam. utavuvōr*) (st. 21), *koḷvōm* (st. 44) etc.

The interrogative root *ā* found in Tamil *irundāṉā, Kan. bandirā,* Telugu *unnāḍā* remains unchanged.

1. The change of *i* to *e* is mostly due to the *economy of effort.* The position needed for the lips to pronounce *e* is more easily secured than that needed for pronouncing *i.*

2. *i* seems to change to *u* when it is a medial sonant and when the final sonant is *u* or *ù.* This may be explained thus:—The vocal organs before pronouncing *i* think of the succeeding *u* so that its

P.D.	*Tam.* (O)	*Tam.* (M)	*Kan.* (O)	*Kan.* (M)	*Tel.* (O)	*Tel.* (M)	*Mal.* (O)	*Mal.* (M)
	civanta	civanda						cuvanna[1]
		śuvanda [1] (coll)						
	ar*i*tů	ar*i*dů				ar*u*du [2]		ar*u*tů [2]
	iṉ*i*ṭů	iṉ*i*dů						in*u*tů [2]
	i-p-poḻutů[3]	i-p-poḻudů				i-p-proddu [4]		i-p-poḻutů
ī	*ī*	*ī*	*ī*	*ī*	*ī*	*ī*	*ī*	*ī*
	*ī*ṭu	*ī*ḍů [5]		*ī*ḍu		*ī*ḍu		*ī*ḍů
	*ī*ṉu-		*ī*n	*ī*ṉu-		*ī*nu-		
	n*ī*ntu-	n*ī*ndu		*ī*ju		*ī*ṁdu-		n*ī*ntů
	*ī*ram			*ī*ra		*ī*miri		*ī*ram

position is adjusted to that needed to pronounce *u*. In other words *i* is changed to *u* on account of the influence of the succeeding *u*. This is called the *harmonic sequence of vowels*. Or the *i* or *u* in these examples may have been the development of the glides after the previous consonants and consequently they may differ in different languages.

1. The change of *i* to *u* in Tamil *śuvanda*, Malayalam *cuvanna* is perhaps due to the following labio-dental semi-vowel *v*.

2. See footnote 2 p. 33.

3. The demonstrative root *i* remains unchanged throughout.

4. *ḻ* is changed to *r* and *o* and *r* change places. This is *metathesis*.

5. *ī* in *īḍů* in colloquial Tamil is not pronounced with the lips fully stretched; but it resembles a sound midway between *ī* an *ū*.

P.D.	*Tam.* (O)	*Tam.* (M)	*Tel.* (O)	*Tel.* (M)	*Kan.* (O)	*Kan.* (M)	*Mal.* (O)	*Mal.* (M)
u		*u* *ù* *ō* (coll)	*u*	*u* } *o* }		*u* } *o* } *ī*		*u* } *ù* } *ī* }
	uṇṭ*ù*	uṇḍù [1]		*u*ṇṭu [1]		*u*ṇḍu		
	k*u*ṟi		k*u*ṟi } g*u*ṟi }			g*u*ṟi		k*u*ṟi
	varavu	varavù						
	m*u*tal	m*u*dal } m*o*dal } (coll)		modal		m*o*daṭa		m*u*tal
	m*u*ḷai	m*u*ḷai } m*o*ḷai }		m*o*ḷe		m*o*la		m*u*ḷa
	p*u*kaḻ	p*u*gaḻ	p*o*gaḻ	p*o*gaḻu		p*o*gaḍika		p*u*kaḻca
	k*u*lai	k*u*lai } kolai }		g*o*le		g*o*la		k*u*la
	va*ru*kai	var*u*gai [2] varuhai (coll)						var*i*ka
	or*u*-k-kāl [2]							or*i*kkal [2]
	uṟ*u*ti [2]	uṟ*u*di				uṟ*idi* [2]		

1. The final *u* in Old Tamil had one *mātrā* in all words where there was only one short vowel before it and in all words when it followed a consonant other than *k, c, ṭ, t, p* and *ṟ*. In other cases it had half-*mātrā*. In modern colloquial Tamil all final *u's* have only half a *mātrā*. In modern Malayalam the same is the case; it may even have one-fourth of a *mātrā*. In Kannaḍa and Telugu it has one mātrā.

2. Since *u* and *i* in *varukai, varika, orukkāl* and *orikkal uṟuti* and *uṟidi* are the development of glides after *ṟ* of the radical *var* and *or*, it is not safe to conclude that *u* has changed to *i* since each language may have its own peculiar ways of using glides.

P.D.	*Tam.* (O)	*Tam.* (M)	*Kan.* (O)	*Kan.* (M)	*Tel.* (O)	*Tel.* (M)	*Mal.* (O)	*Mal.* (M)
ū	*ū*	*ū*	*ū*	*ū*		*ū*	*ū*	*ū*
	pū			pū		pū		pū
	mūṉṟù	mūṉṟù	mūṟu	mūṟu		mūḍu		mūnnù
		mūṇu [1] (coll)						
	kūṭṭam			kūṭa		kūṭami		kūṭṭam
	tūṅku-	tūṅgu-		tūgu		tūgu		tūṅṅuka
e [2]	*e*	*e*		*e*		*e*		*e*
		i		*i*		*i*		
				ī		*a*		
	veṇmai	veṇmai		beḷ		veluka		veṇma
	erutù	erudù		ettu		eddu		erutù
	eṇṇikkai			eṇike		ennika		eṇṇam
	eṭṭù			eṇṭu		enimidi		eṭṭù
	perumai			piri- [3] (per-mole)		perima		perima
	etirāka	etirāha		idirāga				
	neruppù					nippu [3]		nerippu
		eṉkiṉṟāṉ		anutāne		anucun-nāḍu		ennu
	eyiṟù	eyiṟù						
		īṟù [4]		īṟu [4]		iguru [3]		eyirù

1. The final *u* in *mūṇu* is not pronounced with half a mātrā, but is pronounced with a full mātrā.
2. Dr. Caldwell says that *e* and *o* are entirely absent in Sanskrit; but the author of the Mahābhāṣya states that though they are found in two recensions of Sāmavēda, they are not current in the other Vēdas or the world. (*Cf.* H. G. T, p. 28)
3. P. D. *e* changes to *i* in Kannaḍa and Telugu perhaps on account of the accent being shifted to the succeeding syllable as in the case of Skt. *ēmi, imaḥ*.
4. *Eyiṟù* changes to *īṟù*. First *e* should have changed to *i* and this is should have been lengthened to *ī* to compensate for the loss of the succeeding syllable *yi*.

P.D.	Tam. (O)	Tam. (M)	Kan. (O)	Kan. (M)	Tel. (O)	Tel. (M)	Mal. (O)	Mal. (M)
ē	ē	ē	ē	ē		ē		ē
	tēr		tēr	tēru		tēru		tēr
	cēr-	śēr-		sēr-		cēru		cēru-
	kēṭù	kēḍù		kēḍu		kiḍu		kēṭù
	ēḻ	ēḻù	ēḻ	ēḻu		ēḍu		ēḻù
ai	*ai*	*ai*		*ai*		*ai*		*ai*
	ay	*ay*		*ay*		*ayi*		*ay*
				ayi				
		a (coll)		*e*		*i*		*ayi*
				i		*a*		*a*
				u				
	kai	kai [1]		kai kay } [1]		kai		kai [1] kayyù
	aintù	aindù		ayidu [1]		aidu [1]		añcù [2]
		añjù [2] (coll.)				ayidu		
	aimpatù	aimbadù						aimbatù
	paital	paidal				paida		paital
	pai	pai						pai payi }
	kaṭai	kaḍai		kaḍe kaṭa } [3]		kaḍa		
	muḷai			moḷe		mola		muḷa [3]
	taṅkai	taṅgai		taṅgi [3]				taṅka
	perumai			perme		perimi [3]		perima [3]

1. If *ai* is in the first syllable of the word, it remains as *ai* in all the four languages or changes to *ay* or *ayi*.

   Cf. Akara-t t-impar yakara-p puḷḷiyum
   Ai-y-e ṉeṭuñciṉai mey-peṟa-t tōṉṟum. (Tol. Eḻut. 56)

2. When *ai* changes to *a* in *añcù*, its palatal quality is transferred to the following consonant so that *n* changes to *ñ* and then *t* changes to *c* or *j* by assimilation.

3. The *ai* at the end of a word changes to *e*, *i* and *a* in Kannaḍa and Telugu and to *a* in Malayalam. But

P.D.	*Tam.* (O)	*Tam.* (M)	*Kan.* (O)	*Kan.* (M)	*Tel.* (O)	*Tel.* (M)	*Mal.* (O)	*Mal.* (M)
	kōrikk*ai*			kōṟik*e*		kōrik*a* } kōrik*i* }		kōṟik*a*-
	kaṇṭ*ai*	kaṇḍ*ai*				gaṇḍ*e*[3]		
	av*ai*[1]			av*u*[1]		av*i*[1]		av*a*[1]
o	*o*	*o*		*o*		*o*		*o*
		u (coll)		*u*[2]		*u*[2]		*u*[2]
	k*o*mpù	k*o*mbù		k*o*mbu		k*o*mmu		kompù

forms like *avaykku* (the dative case of *ava*) show that *ava* is the modified form of *avay*. Dr. Caldwell's statement that the primitive Dravidian *a* changes to *e* and this again into *ei* (C. D. G. p. 136) does not seem to be correct. He does not seem to have taken into consideration *ai* in places other than the end of words. (*Cf.* H. G. T. pp. 29–31)

1. Since there is in Tamil a word *av* which has the same meaning as *avai*, the vowel at the end might have been introduced for the ease of pronunciation; hence it may differ in all languages.

2. The change of *o* to *u* may have been due to the shift of accent. It is not now possible to determine the nature of accent which existed in the Primitive Dravidian. Since it is not possible to pronounce all the syllables in a word in any language with the same *tone* or *stress*, the Primitive Dravidian should have had some kind of accent. Tolkāppiyaṉār states that there is only one word which ends in *pu*, but it has two meanings.

Cf. Uppa kāra m-oṉṟeṉa moḻipa
Iru-vayi ṉilaiyum poruṭṭā kum-m-ē. (Tol. Eḻut. 76)
Iḷampūraṇar, the earliest commentator on Tolkāppiyam states that the word referred to is *tapu* and

P.D.	*Tam.*		*Tel.*		*Kan.*		*Mal.*	
	(O)	(M)	(O)	(M)	(O)	(M)	(O)	(M)
	poḻutŭ	poḻudŭ		poḻtu		proddu / puḍu [1]		poḻutŭ
	oṉṟŭ	oṉṟŭ / oṇṇu (coll.)		ondu		okaṭi		onnŭ
	oppŭ	oppŭ		oppu		oppu		oppŭ
	toṭaṅkŭ	toḍaṅgŭ		toḍagu		toḍaṁgu		tuḍaṅṅŭ
	koṭi	kodi		kudi				
	koṭu	koḍŭ		kuḍu / koḍu				koṭukka
	poruḷ			puruḷam				poruḷ
	oḻiya			uḻiya				oḻike
ō	ō	ō	ō	ō	ō	ō	ō	ō
	ōṭŭ	ōḍŭ		ōḍu		ōḍu		ōṭŭ
	kōḻi		kōḻi	kōḻi		kōḍi		kōḻi
	kōl		kōl	kōlu		kōla		kōl
	pō		pō	hōgu		pō		pō

it, when pronounced in a low tone, means 'die' and it, when pronounced in a high tone means 'kill'. The terms he uses are *paṭuttu-c-colla, eṭuttu-c-colla* and they are equated with Skt. *anudātta* and *udātta* by the author of the Vīracōḻiyam and the later grammarians. Whether it was exactly so deserves investigation.

1. Note the *metathesis* between *r* and *o* in Telugu *proddu*; *ḻ* interchanges with *r* in Tamil also. *Cf. amiḻtam, amirtam.* Here *ḻ* is used in place of *r* since *amirtam* is the *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *amṛta*; *puḍu* is seen in the compound words *a-p-puḍu i-p-puḍu* etc.

P.D.	*Tam.* (O)	*Tam.* (M)	*Tel.* (O)	*Tel.* (M)	*Kan.* (O)	*Kan.* (M)	*Mal.* (O)	*Mal.* (M)
au	*au*[1]			*au*		*au*		*au*
	av			*av*		*vv*		
	*au*vai } *av*vai }			*av*ve		*av*va		
				t*av*uḍu		t*av*uḍu } t*au*ḍu }		t*av*iṭu
				p*au*vane } p*av*vane }				
				k*au*ṅkuḻ } k*avu*ṅkuḻ }				
	k*au*vu } k*av*vu }							

1. Dr. Caldwell observes in C. D. G. p. 136 thus :—"This diphthong has a place in the Tamil alphabet ; but it is not really a part of any of the Dravidian Language and it has been placed in the alphabets solely in imitation of Sanskrit. It is used only in the pronunciation of Sanskrit derivatives ; and when such derivatives are used in Tamil, they are more commonly pronounced without the aid of this diphthong". The words noted here in all the four languages are not Sanskrit derivatives. Besides the Sanskrit *au*, though it began to be pronounced with one *mātrā* for *a* and one *mātrā* for *u* before the time of Patañjali, the author of the Mahābhāṣya, changes to *āv* and not to *av* in sandhi. But, on the other hand, Tolkāppiyaṉār has definitely stated that *au* may be replaced by *a* and *u* and his commentator has stated that it may be replaced by *av* also.

Cf. Akara ukara m-aukāra m-ākum. (Tol. Eḻut. 55)

Hence it seems to me that Dravidian *au* is different from Sanskrit *āu*. (*Cf.* H. G. T. p. 32)

1·1112 *Development of additional sonants in the History of the Individual Languages.*

Tamil. — In the ancient period *i* before *y* as in the word *kēṇmiyā* and in the sentence *nākiyātŭ* (*nākŭ*+*yātŭ*) began to be pronounced with half a mātrā, so that Tolkāppiyaṉār called it *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram*. Similarly *u* in the word *nŭntai* and the final *u* following a *valleḻuttŭ* or hard consonant in two-lettered words having the first vowel long or in three or more lettered words (*Cf. nākŭ, kācŭ* etc.) began to be pronounced with half a *mātrā*, so that he called it *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram*. Since the pronunciation of both *kuṟṟiyal-ikaram* and *kuṟṟiyal-ukaram* depends upon the neighbouring sounds, he called then *cārpeḻettŭ*. He has also stated that their place of articulation depends upon their neighbouring sounds.

Cf. Cārntu-vari ṉ-allatu tamakkiyal p-ila-v-eṉat
Tērntu-veḷip paṭutta v-ēṉai mūṉṟu-n
Tattañ cārpiṟ piṟappoṭu civaṇi
Otta kātci-y-iṟ ṟam-m-iyal p-iyalum. (Tol. Eḻut. 101)

He has also stated that *ai* and *au* which generally have two *mātrās* may sometimes be pronounced with one *mātrā* as in words *iṭaiyaṉ*, *vau*. But he has not mentioned them as *cārpeḻuttŭ*.

Whenever the quantity of a vowel has to be increased as in calling a person or for metrical purposes, Tolkāppiyaṉār states that as many short vowels as are required may be added after their corresponding long vowels. They were named *aḷapeṭai*. But the later grammarians from Iḷampūraṇar took that letters like *āa* represented one sound with three *mātrās* on wrongly identifying them with Sanskrit *pluta* and called them *aḷapeṭai*.[1] Hence in the later period sounds with three *mātrās* and more began to be recognised. The sounds *ai* and *au*, when

1. Mūṉṟuyiraḷapŭ (Naṉ. 99)

they have one *mātrā* began to be included among *cārpeḻuttŭ*. Hence the sonants that newly developed in Tamil in the different stages of her history are: *ĭ* (kuṟṟiyal-ikaram), *ŭ* (kuṟṟiyal-ukaram), *aĭ* (kuṟṟaikāram), *aŭ* (kuṟṟaukāram), *āa, īi, ūu, ēe aii,*[1] *ōo, auu.*[2] The final *u* in all words is now pronounced as *ŭ* irrespective of the preceding consonant and the number of letters in the word.

Kannaḍa and *Telugu.* — Kannaḍa and Telugu have borrowed, in their individual development, the Sanskrit sonants *ṛ, ṝ* and *ḷ*. It seems they have further introduced *ḹ* also.

Malayalam. — Malayalam has also borrowed the same sounds from Sanskrit. The final *u* in Malayalam has generally become very short so that it now has only one-fourth of a *mātrā* or less.

1·1113 *Certain sonant-laws.*

1·11131 *Lengthening of short sonants.*

If a syllable in a word following a short sonant is dropped, the short sonant is lengthened by way of compensation. *viz.*

Tam. — peyar – pēr ; poḻudŭ – pōdŭ.
Tel. — pēru

Sometimes the demonstrative root *a* is lengthened in Poetry. *viz.* *ā*-y-irutiṉai (Tol. Col. 1)

1·11132 *Shortening of long sonants*

The long sonants of the pronouns *tāṉ* and *tām* of all the four languages, *nām* and *nī* of Tamil and *nīn* of Kannaḍa are shortened before case-suffixes. *viz.*

Tam. — tāṉ – taṉṉai ; tām – tammai, nām – nammai ; nī – niṉṉai.

1. Naṉ. 60.
2. Since *ai* and *au* do not have their corresponding short vowels, *i* and *u* are respectively added after them.

Kan. — tān - tanage ; nīn - ninage.
Tel. — tānu - tannu, tanaku etc.
Mal.— tān - tanne etc.

Some words like *nilā*, *puṟā* etc. shorten *ā* into *a* when *u* is added at the end *viz.*

nilā—nilavu (O. T.) ; nila*v*ŭ (M. T.)
puṟā—puṟavu (O.T.) ; puṟavŭ (M. T.)

1·11133 *Harmonic sequence of sonants.*

One sonant in a word is changed into another by the influence of the sonant in the neighbouring syllable. This may be progressive or regressive. *viz.*

Tam. — uppiṉṟ*i* puṟkai - uppiṉṟ*u* puṟkai
amirdŭ (from amirdam) - am*u*dŭ.

In both the examples, *i* is changed to *u* on account of the presence of *u* in the succeeding syllable.

Tel. — cev*i* + lu = cev*u*lu
dīni + k*u* = dīnik*i*

In the former, the sonant in the succeeding syllable changed that in the preceding syllable and in the latter, that in the preceding syllable changed the sonant in the succeeding syllable.

This is taken to be a kind of *epenthesis* by some philologists.

1·11134. *Displacement of sonants*

If the initial sonant of a word is dropped, it sometimes replaces the vowel in the next syllable with or without some modification. *viz.*

Tam. — eṉakkŭ—nēkkŭ (coll.)
uṉakkŭ—nōkkŭ (coll.)
iraṇḍŭ — reṇḍŭ. (coll.)

Tel. — ivar + u—vīru.

1·11135. *Prosthesis*

Since it was recognised in Ancient Tamil that words should not commence with the consonants *r* and *l*, sonants had to be prefixed to foreign words commencing with them, when they are borrowed here. This is seen in Kannaḍa also. *viz.*

Skt.	rāma	*Tam.*	irāmaṉ
,,	laṅkā	,,	ilaṅkai
,,	raṅga	,,	araṅgam
,,	rājan	*Kan.*	arasam (O. K.)
			arasanu (M. K.)

In Modern Tamil this is not strictly observed. See Malayalam uses the word *rāmacaritam*.

This insertion of a sonant at the commencement of a word is called *Prosthesis*.

1·11136. *Paragoge*

When foreign words ending in voiceless consonants are borrowed in Tamil, *u* is generally introduced at the end. *viz.*

Skt. vāk *Tam.* vākku [1]

Sometimes *u* is introduced at the end of indigenous Tamil and Kannaḍa words also. *viz.*

Tam.	ēḻ	—	ēḻu [2]
	nilā	—	nilavu [2]
	puṟā	—	puṟavu [2]
Kan.	ēḷ	—	ēḷu
	kaṇ	—	kaṇṇu
	pō (O. K.)	—	hōgu (M. K.)

1. This final *u* was originally pronounced with one *mātrā*, though it is now pronounced only with half a *mātrā*.
2. Even now according to the rules of grammar this *u* has one *mātrā*, tho' it is pronounced with half a *mātrā*.
   Cf. Kuṟiyataṉ........(Tol. Eḻut. 235)
   Ēḻ-eṉ-kiḷavi ......(*ibid* 389)

1·11137. *Epenthesis*

If a consonant is followed by another, a sonant is sometimes inserted between them.

Tam. — nām + ku = nam*a*kkŭ
Kan. — tān + ge = tan*a*ge
Tel. — tānu + ku = tan*a*ku [1]
Mal. — nām + ku = nam*u*kkŭ

This is frequently seen when foreign words having conjunct consonants are borrowed in Tamil *viz.*

Skt. —	advāita	*Tam.* —	attuvaitam
,,	amṛta	,,	amirtam, amiḻtam [2] (O. T.)
,,		,,	amirdam, amiḻdam (M. T.)

Such a phenomenon is called *Epenthesis.*

1·11138. *Aphesis*

Sometimes the initial sonant or syllable of a word is omitted. *viz.*

Tam. ākāyam — kāyam [3]
tāmarai — marai [4]
Tel. ākādu — kādu

Such a phenomenon is called *Aphesis.*

1. *a* is introduced after the elision of the enumerative *u.*
2. *Amiḻta m*-iyaiva t-āyiṉum (P. N. 182, 2)
3. *Cf.* Viṉ-ṉ-eṉa varūuṅ *kāya*-p peyarvayiṉ (Tol. Eḻut. 306)
4. *Cf.* *Marai*-y-itaḷ puraiyu m-añceñ ciṟaṭi. (Tol. col. 453 comm.)

1·11139. *Syncope*

Sometimes a sonant in the middle of a word is dropped. *viz*

Tam.	poḻudu — pōḻdu ; pōlum – pōṉm[1]	
	muḻugu — mūḻgu	
	viḻugai — viḻgai	
Tel.	kānici — kāṁci	
	anucu — aṁcu	
Kan.	hoṟatu — hoṟtu	
	eraḍu — erḍu	

Apocope.—Sometimes a sonant at the end of a word is dropped *viz.*

Tel. puṭṭenu — puṭṭen
rukmiṇini — rukmiṇin

1. *Cf.* Ceyyu ḷ-iṟuti-p pōlu moḻivayiṉ
Nakāra makāra m-iroṟ ṟ-ākum. (Tol. Eḻut. 51)
Ṉakāra muṉṉar makāraṅ kuṟukum. (*ibid* 52)

1·112. GRADATION

In etymologically and morphologically related groups of words in a language there are quantitative and qualitative differences in the sonantal element of the root syllable or the suffix syllable. This is called gradation.[1]

History of Gradation. — Grimm first saw the vowel-change in the forms of strong verbs in the German language—*springe-sprange-gesprungen* and called it *ablaut*. He thought that the changes were due to psychological causes (*i.e.*) they possessed an inner meaning from the outset. Bopp, probably under the influence of Humboldt, thought that the changes were mechanical and 'dependent on the weight of the endings'. The later scholars said that they are due to primeval accent. Scholars are now of opinion that, even though the prime factor was the system of accentuation, there are other factors also such as vowel-contraction, lengthening of vowels by compensation rhythmical lengthening etc.[2]

This gradation does not play as large a part in the Dravidian Languages as it plays in the Indo-European languages, since the system of accentuation is not so marked in them as in I. E. languages and since the number of declensions of nouns and the conjugation of verbs is not so large in them as in I. E. languages. Still it is seen in some pronouns and some verbs.

1. This was first found out by Grimm with reference to Indo-European languages. He called it *ablaut*. Rask, Sweet and Otto Jespersen respectively named the same *omlyd*, *gradation* and *apophony*.
2. *Cf.* Comparative Grammar of the Greek Language by J. Wright.

	Nom-case	*Oblique-case* (4th case)
Tam. —	yāṉ	eṉakkŭ
	nām	namakkŭ
	nī	niṉakkŭ } nuṉakkŭ } uṉakkŭ
	nīyir	numakkŭ } umakkŭ
	tāṉ	taṉakkŭ
	tām	tamakkŭ

Root	*Affirmative finite*	*Negative finite*	*Infinitive*
kāṇ	kaṇṭāṉ	kāṇāṉ	kāṇa
cā	cettāṉ	cākāṉ	cāka
tā or tar	tantāṉ	tārāṉ	tara
vā or var	vantāṉ	vārāṉ	vara

Root	*finite verb*	*Verbal noun*
kāṇ	kāṇpāṉ	kaṇ
viṭu	viṭṭāṉ	vīṭŭ
keṭu	keṭṭāṉ	kēṭŭ
paṭu	paṭṭāṉ	pāṭŭ
miṉ	miṉṉiyatŭ	mīṉ
cuṭu	cuṭṭatŭ	cūṭu
koḷ	koṇṭāṉ	kōḷ
viḻu	viḻuntāṉ } vīḻntāṉ }	viḻukai vīḻkai
peṟu	peṟṟāṉ	pēṟŭ
mukar-	mukarntāṉ	mūkkŭ
paku-	pakuttāṉ	pakuti } pāti }

Shortening of sonants or their lengthening is found in some words. Such words also may be cited as examples here.

poḻutŭ	pōḻtŭ
nilā	nilavu
puṟā	puṟavu

	Nom. case	Oblique case (4th case)
Kan. —	ān (O.K.)	enage
	nānu (M.K.)	nanage
	ām (O. K.)	emage
	nāvu (M. K.)	namage
	nīn (O. K.)	ninage
	nīnu (M. K.)	ninage
	nīm (O. K.)	nimage
	nīvu (M. K.)	nimage
	tān (O. K.)	tanage
	tānu (M. K.)	tanage
	tām (O. K.)	tamage
	tāvu (M. K)	tamage

Root	Affirmative finite	Negative finite	Infinitive
kāṇ	kaṇḍam (O.K.)	kāṇam	kāṇa
	kaṇḍanu (M.K.)	kāṇanu	
tar	tandam (O.K.)	tāram	tara
	tandanu (M. K.)	tāranu	
bar	bandam (O. K.)	bāram	bara
	bandanu (M. K.)	bāranu	

Root	Finite verb	Verbal noun
kāṇ	kāṇbam	kaṇ
biḍu	biṭṭam	bīḍu
keḍu	keṭṭam	kēḍu
paḍu	paṭṭam	pāṭu [1]
minugu	minuguva	mīn

	Nom. case	Oblique case (2nd case)
Tel. —	nēnu	nannu
	mēmu	mammunu
	nīvu	ninnu
	mīru	mimmu
	tānu	tannu
	tāmu	tammu

1. Note that *pāṭu* means *suffering* and *pāḍu* means *song*.

Root	Finite verb	Verbal noun
vinu (to hear)	vinunu	vīnu (ear)
ceḍu	ceḍunu	cēṭu
paḍu	paḍunu	pāṭu
poḍucu	poḍucunu	pōṭu

	Nom. case	Oblique case
Mal. —	nān	enne
	nām	namme
	nī	ninne
	tān	tanne
	tām	tamme

Root	Verbal noun
kāṇuka	kaṇṇu
paṭuka	pāṭṭ

———

1·12. P. D. CONSONANTS

	Guttural	Palatal	Alveolar[5–6]	Dental	Labial
Explosives.[1] —	*k*	*c*	*ṭ*	*t*	*p*
Nasals.[2] —	*ṅ*	*ñ*	*ṇ, ṉ*	*n*	*m*
Semivowels.[3] —		*y*	*r, ḷ*	*l*	*v*[7] (labio-dental)
Fricatives.[4] —			*ḻ, r* (cerebral)		

1. *Explosives* are the sounds produced by the *complete* contact of the vocal organs. They were also called *mutes* and *stops*. They were called mutes, since they were not heard by the hearer before the succeeding vowel was pronounced; they were called stops since, while pronouncing them, air is completely stopped; and they are called explosives, since air explodes when the succeeding vowel is pronounced.

2. *Nasals* are sounds while pronouncing which part of the air escapes through nose.

3. *Semivowels* are sounds while pronouncing which the vocal organs have neither complete contact as in pronouncing explosives, nor are they completely open as in pronouncing sonants. Hence is the name.

4. *Fricatives* are sounds while pronouncing which air escapes with friction.

5. *Alveolar* sounds are those which are produced by the contact of the *tip* of the tongue and the front part of the hard palate.

6. I have called *ṭ, ṇ* as *alveolar* and not *cerebral*, since they are said to be produced by the contact of the tip of the tongue with the front part of the palate (*Cf.* Ṭakāra ṇakāra nuṉi-nā v-aṇṇam. (Tol. Eḻut. 91)

7. It deserves to be noted that P. D. *v* is a semivowel, while English *v* is a fricative.

In addition to the above it is quite possible that there were six sounds which are not consonants since they were not pronounced with the help of sonants and which were not sonants since they were not open sounds. They are the sounds produced before *k, c, ṭ, t, p* and *ṟ* by allowing the air just near the respective position of the vocal organs of the previous sounds and suddenly arresting the air. They may be represented thus:—∴(*k*), ∴(*c*), ∴(*ṭ*), ∴(*t*), ∴(*p*) and ∴(*ṟ*); The source for this suggestion is the sūtra

> Cārntu-yari ṉ-allatu tamakkiyal p-ila-v-eṉa-t
> Tērntu-veḷi-p paṭutta v-ēṉai mūṉṟum
> Tattañ cārpiṟ piṟappoṭu civaṇi
> Otta kāṭciyiṟ ṟam-m-iyal p-iyalum. (Tol. Eḻut. 101)

found in the Tolkāppiyam, Piṟappiyal. Unfortunately they seem to have disappeared in the native words of Telugu, Kannaḍa [1] and Malayālam and in Tamil all the six sounds are now pronounced in the same way as ∴ before *k*. Hence Dr. Caldwell has mentioned it as 'a sort of guttural'. The name given to them is *āytam* [2]; this word is now pronounced as *āydam*.

1·121. *Development of P. D. consonants in Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam.*

P.D.	*Tam.* (O)	*Tam.* (M)	*Kan.* (O)	*Kan.* (M)	*Tel.* (O)	*Tel.* (M)	*Mal.* (O)	*Mal.* (M)
k	*k*	*k, g*		*k, g*		*k, g; c*		*k*
	kēṭu	*kēḍu*		*kēḍu* / *kīṭu*		*cēṭu* / *kīḍu*		*kēṭu*

1. The *Jihvāmūlīya* and *Upadhmānīya* mentioned in the Kannaḍa grammars are two of the six sounds mentioned above. But they are generally found in words borrowed from Sanskrit.
2. Some Indian scholars seem to think that it is the *tadbhava* of Sanskrit *āśrita*; but the latter is not found used as a technical name in Sanskrit Grammar.

P.D.	Tam.		Kan.	Tel.	Māl.
	(O)	(M)	(O) (M)	(O) (M)	(O) (M)
	kāval		kāval	kāvali	kāval
	kiḷi		giḷi	ciri	kiḷi
	kuṟi		guṟi	guṟi	kuṟi
	kottu		kottu	gottu	
	aṅkai	aṅgai			uḷ-ḷ-aṅka
ṅ	*ṅ*	*ṅ*	*ṅ, ṁ*	*ṁ*	*ṅ*
	aṅkāṭi	aṅkāḍi	aṅgaḍi / aṁgaḍi	aṁgaḍi [1]	aṅṅāṭi
c	*c*	*c, ś, j*	*c, s, k, g, j*	*c, s, ts* [2] *k, j, dz* [3]	*c, ñ*
	ciṉṉa	ciṉṉa / śiṉṉa	cinna	cinna	cinna
	cintu-	cindu / śindu		ciṁdu	cinṭŭ
	cey-	cey- / śey	key- / gey	ceyyu-	ceyyu-
	cevi-	cevi / śevi	kivi	cevi	cevi
	cettai	śattai	sede	cetta	ceṟṟa
	celavu	śelavŭ / śilavu (coll.)		selavu	celavŭ / cilavŭ
	iñcu-	iñju	iṅgu-	iṁku	
	kañci	kañji	gañji	gañji	kaññi
	cūṭṭŭ	śūṭṭu		dzuṭṭu	
	pañcai	pañjai / pañje (coll.)	pañje	palutca	
	cūṭu-	śūḍu	sūḍu	tsūḍu	cūṭu

1. Even though Telugu uses only anusvāra in writing, yet *ṁ* before a guttural consonant is pronounced only like *ṅ*, the guttural nasal; *ṅ* is not found either initially or finally.
2. *Cf.* ad-dantyas-tālavyaś cur-vakras-syāt (Ā. Ś. C. 19); *ch* (*c*) is pronounced as *ts* and *j* as *dz* before all vowels except *i, ī, e, ē, ei*. (C. G. D. p. 141)

P. D.	*Tam.* (O)	(M)	*Kan* (O)	(M)	*Tel.* (O)	(M)	*Mal.* (O)	(*M*)
ñ[1]	*ñ, n, y*			*ñ, n, ṁ*		*ṁ*		*ñ, n*
	*ñ*aṇṭŭ *n*aṇṭŭ	*ñ*aṇḍŭ naṇḍŭ						*ñ*aṇṭŭ *n*aṇṭŭ
	ka*ñ*ci	ka*ñ*ji		ga*ñ*ji ga*ṁ*ji		ga*ṁ*ji		ka*ññ*i
	*ñ*āyiṟŭ	*ñ*āyiṟŭ *n*āyar (coll.)		*n*ēsaṟu				*ñ*āyiṟŭ *n*āyar
	*ñ*ātta *y*ātta							
	ṭ	*ṭ, ḍ*		*ṭ, ḍ, ḷ*		*ṭ, ḍ*		*ṭ*
	mē*ṭ*ŭ	mē*ḍ*ŭ		mē*ḍ*u		mē*ṭ*u		mē*ṭ*ŭ
	ku*ṭṭ*ai[3]			kuṇ*ṭ*e		guṇ*ṭ*a		
	kū*ṭ*ai[3]	kū*ḍ*əi		kū*ṭ*e		gū*ḍ*a		kū*ṭ*a
	a*ṭ*i	a*ḍ*i		a*ḍ*i		a*ḍ*ugu		a*ṭ*i
	naṇ*ṭ*ŭ[3]	naṇ*ḍŭ*						naṇ*ṭ*ŭ
	vē*ṭṭ*ai			bē*ṭ*e		vē*ṭ*a		vē*ṭṭ*a

1. It may be noted that *ñ* is used neither initially nor finally in words of Kannaḍa and it has been replaced by anusvāra in Telugu. Tamil words like *uriñ* ending in *ñ* are almost obsolete. In colloquial Tamil there is a tendency to replace the initial *ñ* by *n*.

2. It deserves to be noted that Tamil *ṭ* and *ṇ* are mentioned as alveolar and not as cerebral by Tolkāppiyaṉār.

   Cf. Ṭakāra ṇakāra nuṉinā v-aṇṇam. (Tol. Eḻut. 91) (*ṭ* and *ṇ* are produced by the contact of the tip of the tongue with front-most part of the palate). But they are now pronounced in all the four languages as cerebral. This should have been the gradual development in them.

3. It may be noted that *ṭ* was used in ancient Tamil neither initially nor finally. In modern Tamil words like *taṅkā* it is used initially; *ṭ* is now pronounced as *ḍ* both after nasal *ṇ* and in vocalic company.

P.D.	*Tam.* (O)	*Tam.* (M)	*Kan.* (O)	*Kan.* (M)	*Tel.* (O)	*Tel.* (M)	*Mal.* (O)	*Mal.* (M)
ṇ[1]	ṇ	ṇ		ṇ, n		ṇ, n		ṇ
	kaṇ	kaṇ kaṇṇů (coll.)	kaṇ	kaṇṇu		kannu		kaṇṇů
	kaṇu	kaṇů				kaṇuvu		
	kaṇṇāṭi	kaṇṇāḍi		kannaḍi				kaṇṇāṭi
	nāṇal			nāṇal				
	viṇ					vinnu		viṇṇů
	t	t, d		t, d		t, d		t
	taṅkai[2]	taṅgai		taṅgi				taṅge
	tantai	tandai		tande		taṇḍri		tanta
	vintai	vindai vinde (coll.)		vinte		vinta		vinta
	cettai	śettai		sede		cetta		ceṟṟa
	tuti	tudi		tudi		tudi		
	mutal	mudal modal (coll.)		modal		modalu		mutal
	cintů	cindů				ciṁdu		cinnuka

1. Ṇ does not stand as the initial letter of a word; when it is the final letter, there is a tendency to add *u* or *ů* at the end after doubling it.

2. *T* remains as *t* when it is the initial letter of words in all the four languages. When it is preceded by *n* in the middle of words, it is changed to *d* in modern Tamil; but in Telugu and Kannaḍa it is sometimes changed to *d* and sometimes not; in Malayalam *nt* is sometimes changed to *nn*. Sometimes *t* is pronounced as *l* in the *tadbhava* words of Malayalam (C. D. G p. 143); this may have arisen from a confusion in the script.

n	*n*			*n*	*n, ṇ*	*n*
	*n*aṇpù	*n*aṇbù		*n*aṇpu	*n*anupu	
	*n*aṭai	*n*aḍai				
		*n*aḍe (coll.)		*n*aḍe	*n*aḍa	*n*aṭa
	ta*n*tai	ta*n*dai		ta*n*de	ta*ṇ*ḍri	ta*n*ta
p	*p*	*p. b*	*p, b*	*p, b, h m, v*	*p, b, m*	*p*
	*p*erumai[1]	*p*erume (coll.)	*p*erme[1]	herme	*p*erimi[1]	*p*erima[1]
	*p*eyar[2]	*p*eyar *p*ēr[3]	*p*esar	*h*esaru	*p*ēru	*p*ēr
	kom*p*ù	kom*b*ù		kom*b*u	ko*m*mu	kom*p*ù
	cem*p*ù	cem*b*ù		cem*b*u	ce*ṁ*bu	cem*p*ù
	tam*p*i	tam*b*i		tam*m*a	tam*m*uḍu	tam*p*i
	pōla			vōl	pōle	

1. It deserves to be noted that, if *ai* is the final element of a Tamil word, we see corresponding to it *e* in Kannaḍa, *i* in Telugu and *a* (in most cases) in Malayalam. Economy of effort may be said to be responsible for the change of the palatal *ai* to the palatal *e*. Since *ai* is made up of two sounds *a* and *i*, Telugu has adopted the part *i* and Malayalam *a*.

2. The initial *p* is less liable to change than the medial *p* except in modern Kannaḍa, where it changes to *h*. For the history of the change *p* to *h*, *v* etc. refer to A Grammar of the oldest Kanarese Inscriptions by Dr. A. N. Narasimhiah pp. 1 to 4.

3. The *e* of *peyar* is lengthened in *pēr* to compensate for the loss of the succeeding syllable *ya*.

P.D	Tam. (O)	Tam. (M)	Kan. (O)	Kan. (M)	Tel. (O)	Tel. (M)	Mal. (O)	Mal. (M)
m[1]	*m, n,*	*m, n*		*m, v* *n*		*m, n, b*		*m*
	mara*m*			*m*ara		*m*rānu		*m*ara*m*
	*m*aṟi			*m*aṟi		*m*aṟi		*m*aṟi
	pula*m*			pola*n*		polamu		pula*m*
	pulaṉ							
	nā*m*		nā*m*	nā*v*u				nā*m*
	nila*m*			nila*v*u		nēla		nila*m*
	*m*ūḻkai	*m*ūlgai		*m*uḷugu		*m*unugu *b*uḍugu		
	peru*m*ai	peru*m*e (coll.)	per- me	her*m*e		peri*m*i		peri*m*a
y[3]	*y*	*y, e, ē*		*y, s*		*y, e, ē, s*		*y, ē*
	kā*y*			kā*y*		kā*y*i		kā*y*
	ko*y*-			ko*y*-		kō*y*u		ko*y*

1. The initial and medial *m* mostly remains unchanged. The final *m* except in nine of the *a∴ṟiṇai* nouns alternates with *ṉ*.

   Cf. Makara-t totarmoḻi mayaṅkutal varainta
   Nakara-t toṭarmoḻi y-oṉpa∴ t-eṉpa
   Pukar-aṟa-k kiḷanta v-a∴ṟiṇai mēṉa.

   (Tol. Eḻut. 82)

   The same changes to *n* in Kannaḍa and Telugu. Sometimes it is changed *v* when *u* is added to it at the end.

2. If *y* is the final of roots, it seems it has no change in all languages; if it is medial, it changes to *s* or it is sometimes dropped with the following vowel, the preceding vowel being lengthened for compensation as in Telugu *pēru*; it is not found initially in Telugu or Malayalam. Even in Tamil there is a tendency in modern days to use *e* instead initially.

P.D. Tam.		Kan.		Tel.		Mal.	
(O)	(M)	(O)	(M)	(O)	(M)	(O)	(M)
peyar		pesar	hesar		pēru		peyar
payir		payiru			pesara		payir
		pasiru	hasiru				
yāvar yār	evar ēvar yār		yār		evaru ēru		ēvar
yāvai	ēvai		yāva		evi ēvi		ēva
yāṉ[1]	yāṉ nāṉ	ān yānu	nānu		nēnu		ñāṉ

1. It may be noted that *y* of *yāṉ* exists mostly in old Tamil and rarely in old Kannaḍa. In colloquial Tamil it has been superseded by *nāṉ*: at present the use of *yāṉ* is considered pedantic. It has disappeared from modern Kannaḍa and Telugu. Both *yāṉ* and *nāṉ* have blended together in Malayalam *ñāṉ*, taking the palatal element from *y* and the nasal element from *n*. Dr. Caldwell, though he sees that there are many reasons to take *yāṉ* to be more ancient than *nāṉ*' observes, 'I think it unsafe, however, to conclude from this or from any of the facts mentioned that the initial *n* of *nāṉ* is of modern origin ..*nāṉ* is represented....as alternating with *yāṉ* in the most authoritative grammar of the classical Tamil,' This statement of his is based upon *Naṉṉūl*, the Tamil grammar of the 13th C. A. D. But in *Tolkāppiyam*, the Tamil grammar of at least the 2nd C. B. C. *nāṉ* is not mentioned. Hence *nāṉ* should have been a new formation on the analogy of *nām*.

P.D.	Tam. (O)	Tam. (M)	Kan. (O)	Kan. (M)	Tel. (O)	Tel. (M)	Mal. (O)	Mal. (M)
r[1]	*r*, *ṟ*		*r*, *ṟ*, *l*	*r*, *ṟ*		*r*		*r*, *ṟ*
	cēr-	śēr-		sēr		cēru-		cēruka
	kōr-			kōṟu		kōru		kōṟu
	kural	kural						
		koral (coll)		koral				kural
		reṇḍû (coll)				reṇḍu		reṇḍu
	karumai			kari		kaṟi		karuma
	kaṟuppû			kaṟi				kaṟuppû
	erutû	erudû	eḻtu	ettu		eddu		erutû
l[2]	*l*			*l*		*l*		*l*
	kulukkû			kuluku		kuluku		kulukkû
	kōl			kōlu		kōla		kōl
	kūli			kūli		kūli		kūli
	cel					ceḻlu		ceḻka

1. *R* did not commence a word in old Tamil; but in modern Tamil words like *romba* or *nirampa, reṇḍû* for *iraṇḍû*, *rā* for *irā* etc. are freely used in speech. They are seen initially in Telugu and Malayalam. The Tamil words *karumai* and *kaṟuppû* and the Malayalam words *karuma* and *kaṟuppû* both denote black colour. Hence it seems that *r* and *ṟ* became confused in usage. The Kannaḍa words *kari* and *kaṟi* suggest the same in Kannaḍa also. For the history of the displacement of *r* by *ṟ*, refer to A Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese Inscriptions by Dr. A. N. Narasimhiah, p. 25. Kannaḍa has *ettu* and Telugu has *eddu* corresponding to Tamil *erutû*. This should have been due to the assimilation of *r* to *t* after the elision of *u* after *r*.
2. *L* did not commence a word in any of the four languages Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam. It is used

P.D.	Tam. (O)	Tam. (M)	Kan. (O)	Kan. (M)	Tel. (O)	Tel. (M)	Mal. (O)	Mal. (M)
v	*v*	*v*	*v̇*	*v*	*v*	*v*	*v*	*v*
	*v*eri		*v*eṟi	*v*eri		*v*erri		*v*eri
	veṭṭai			*v*eṭṭe		*v*ēḍi		*v*eṭṭa
	a*v*aṉ		a*v*am	a*v*anu		*v*āṁdu		a*v*an
	a*v*vai			a*v*ve		a*v*va		
	kā*v*aṭi	kā*v*aḍi		kā*v*aḍi		kā*v*aṭi } kā*v*aḍi }		kā*v*aṭi
ḻ[1]	*ḻ*	*ḻ, ḷ, l, y*	*l*	*r, ḷ, ṇ*		*ḍ, n*		*ḻ*
	niḻal	neḻal (coll.)	neḻal	neḷal		nī*ḍ*a		niḻal
	kōḻi		kōḻi	kōḷi		kō*ḍ*i		kōḻi
	kaḻuvu					ka*ḍ*ugu		kaḻukuka
	iḻu		iḻ	iḷ		iḍutsu		iḻŭ
	paḻam	paḷam } pa*l*am } payam } (coll.)		ha*ṇ*ṇu		paṇ*ḍ*u		paḻam
	muḻuku	muḻugu	muḻu			mu*n*ugu		muḻukuka

in them medially. It is used finally also except in Telugu and modern Kannaḍa. But in Modern Tamil such *tadbhava* words like *lābam, laṅgai* are used. In modern Telugu the words like *lēdu, lēḍu* etc. which should been derived from the root *il* are now found.

1. *Ḻ* is one of the Dravidian sounds not found in Sanskrit, though it might have existed in the Parent Indo-European language since it is almost seen in words like English *pleasure.* It is not mentioned as one of the Telugu sounds in any Telugu book. *Āndhraśabda-cintāmaṇi* has not included it in Telugu alphabet. In Telugu words which are cognate with Tamil words having *ḻ, ḍ* is sometimes found. Tamil and Malayalam

P.D.	*Tam.* (O)	*Tam.* (M)	*Kan.* (O)	*Kan.* (M)	*Tel.* (O)	*Tel.* (M)	*Mal.* (O)	*Mal.* (M)
	k̇aḻuttŭ			kattŭ [1]		kattuka		kaḻuttŭ
	kaḻutai	kaḻuḍai kaḻude } (coll.)	kal̠te	katte [2]		gāḍida		kaḻuta
	īreḻupatŭ		īreḻ- pattu īrerpattu [3]					

have preserved it to this day. Even in them it is never found as the initial letter of words; it is found medially and finally; when it is used finally, there is a tendency in colloquial Tamil to add *ŭ* at the end *viz.*, *vāḻŭ*. But in colloquial Tamil the word ***paḻam*** is pronounced in various ways in different places as *paḷam, palam, payam* etc. It is interesting to note that *ḻ* appears in *tadbhava* words of Tamil language.

viz.—*paḻam* (*Cf.* Skt. *phala*, Eng. *fruit*)
piḻai (*Cf.* Skt. *pīḍa* from P. I. E. *api-sed*)
uḻai (*Cf.* Skt. *uṣā*)
amiḻdam (*Cf.* Skt. *amṛta*, Eng. *immortal*, P. I. E., *ṃmṛtos*)

But Sanskrit *nāḍī, nāḍikā* etc. appear to me to have been adopted from Tamil *nāḻi, nāḻikai* etc. In certain cases it is not easy to decide which is the borrower *viz.*

Tam. *tōḻam*, Skt. *tōyam* meaning *water*.
,, *seḻugam* ,, *jalūkā* meaning *leech*.

1. In *kattu*, perhaps *ḻ* has been dropped;
2. *Ḻ* is assimilated to the following consonant in *kalte* so that the form *katte* has sprung up.
3. Krishnamacharya of Srirangappattanam in his *Hosa-kannaḍa-vyākaraṇavu* published in 1882 says that *ḻ* is replaced by *r*. *Cf. Dēśyagaḷalli ṟakāra ḻagaḷige*

P.D.	*Tam.* (O)	(M)	*Kan.* (O)	(M)	*Tel.* (O)	(M)	*Mal.* (O)	(M)
ḻ[1]	ḻ	ḷ		ḻ		l, ṇ	ḻ	
	taḻir	tuḷir (coll.)		taḻir		taliru	taḻir	
	koḻḻai			koḻḻe		kolla	koḻḻa	
	tēḻ	tēḻu (coll.)	tēḻ	tēḻu		tēlu	tēḻ	
	kaḻai			kaḻacu			kaḻayuka	
	kaḻañciyam	kaḻañjiyam				kaṇaṁdzmu		

rēphave bareyalpaḍuttade (p. 4). Dr. A. N. Narasimhia in his 'A Grammar of the oldest Kanarese inscriptions' observes, "ḻ remained unchanged during the 8th and 9th centuries. But in the 10th century—about 930 A. D.—ḻ becomes *r* before consonants: *e. g. negartte* from *negaḻte*. . . *gaḻde—garde* (Ś. M. D. sūtra 37). In the 13th century ḷ establishes firmly and very few forms with ḻ are found." (pp. 61–63) *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* has mentioned ḻ among consonants. s and also that ḻ takes the place of ṭ, t, ṭh, *r* and ḷ in *tadbhavas* (Sūtra 21.)

Cf. Skt.	ghaṭikā	*Kan.*	gaḻige
,,	pratihastam	,,	paḻihattam
,,	maṭhike	,,	maḻige
,,	krūram	,,	kūḻ
,,	tāḷam	,,	tāḻ

Dr. A. N. Narasimhia says that ḻ was sometimes used for *l* in the *Skt.* words *tilaka* and *kamala* p. 63.

1. Ḻ is a cerebral sound and was so recognised by Tolkāppiyaṉār. It is found in all the four languages; but where we find ḷ in words of Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam, we find *l* in Telugu. In words like *eḷḷu*

P.D.	Tam (O)	Tam (M)	*Kan.* (O)	*Kan.* (M)	*Tel* (O)	*Tel* (M)	*Mal.* (O)	*Mal.* (M)
r[1]	**r**	**r**, r, t	**r**	**r**, r, t, ṭ, d	**r**	r, t, ṭ, ḍ		**r**
	a**r**u		a**r**u		a**r**u			a**r**u
	ā**r**ú	ārú (coll)	ā**r**u	āru	ā**r**u	āru		ā**r**ú

(the plural of *ettu* the cognate of Tamil erutú) and in almost all Sanskrit words having *l* which have been made *tadbhava* in Telugu *ḷ* is found. Not only *ḷ* but also *ḷh* is found in the Vedas; but they are extinct in classical Sanskrit. Dr. Caldwell observes, "It is probably derived from the same source, whatever that source may be, from which the cerebral consonants *ṭ*, *ḍ* and *ṇ* have proceeded. (C. D G. p. 445). In Kannaḍa *ḷ* is found in some places where we find *l* in Tamil. *viz.* Tamil *vāl* Kannaḍa *vāḷa*.

1. This **r** is now found only in Tamil and Malayalam. It is now gradually replaced by *r* in colloquial Tamil. But it is clear from many of the forms in the oldest period of each of Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam that it is one of the inherent sounds of the Primitive Dravidian. It is not found in any of the Indo-European languages. *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* sanctions the use of *r* in place of **r**.

   Cf. Atipīḍanadim rēphāśritam-āda **r**akāramum....
   (Sūtra 18)

   Krishnamacharya in his *Hosa-kannaḍa-vyākaraṇavu* says that **r** is replaced by *r* in native words.

   Cf. Dēśyagaḷalli **r**akāra-ḷagaḷige rēphave bareyal-paḍuttade (p. 4)

   In Telugu grammars like *Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi* **r** is not included in the alphabet. The same is the case in modern Kannaḍa grammars.

   Cf. A Kanarese Grammar by Herold Spencer (p. 2)

irakkai	rekkai (coll)	era-ke	erake	era-ka	eraka	irakŭ

Dr. Caldwell observes, "The hard rough r of the Dravidian languages is not found in Sanskrit and is not employed in pronouncing Sanskrit derivatives. It is found in Telugu poetry and elegant prose and the grammarians insist upon using it; but in the modern dialect of the Telugu it is seldom used. In Kanarese the use of this letter is confined to the poets and the ancient dialect. It is evident that it was originally contained in all the dialects; though, possibly through the influence of the Sanskrit, it is now seldom used except in Tamil and Malayalam, in which it holds as firm a footing as ever." (C. D. G. p. 145)

Dr. A. N. Narasimhia in his 'A Grammar of the oldest Kanarese Inscriptions' observes, "All these show that r in Kanarese is a cerebral according to the grammarians. Since it is now lost in N. K., it is not possible to find out what its phonetic value may have been. That it represents a stop, perhaps an alveolar, which can become a dental or a cerebral and not the continuant *r*, is definite." (p. 35.) But its nature is clearly mentioned in Tolkāppiyam that it was pronounced by raising the tip of the tongue to slightly touch the palate, which shows that it was both an alveolar and a fricative.

Cf. Aṇari nuṉinā v-aṉṉa m-orra
Ṟa∴kā ṉa∴kā ṉ-āyiraṇṭum pirakkum.
(Tol. Eḻut. 94)

The words *aṇari* and *orra* mean *being raised*, and *on slightly touching* and hence they respectively suggest that r was considered by Tolkāppiyaṉār to be an alveolar and a fricative. Wherever he mentions about stops or explosives, he uses the expressions like *meyyura orra*. Since greater exertion is needed

P.D. / Tam. (O)	Tam. (M)	Kan. (O)	Kan. (M)	Tel. (O)	Tel. (M)	Mal. (O)	Mal. (M)
ka*r*uppû ka*r*umai	ka*r*uppû (coll)	ka*r*e	ka*r*i	ka*r*i	ka*r*i		ka*r*uppû karuma
ku*r*i		ku*r*i gu*r*i		gu*r*i			ku*r*i
ci*rr*am		sīta*r*		ci*rr*a			ci*rr*am
ma*rr*um			ma*tt*am	ma- *r*iyu			ma*rr*um
cu*rr*û	cu*tt*u (coll)		su*tt*u		tau*ṭṭ*u		cu*rr*û
ē*rr*am	ē*tt*am (coll)		ē*t*a		ē*t*amu		ē*rr*am

to pronounce the fricative trilled *r*, it is sometimes changed into *ṭ*, an alveolar explosive by the economy of effort in the method of articulation and since it is more difficult to raise the tip of the tongue to touch the palate, it is sometimes changed to *t*, a dental explosive by the economy of effort with reference to the place of articulation. The *ṭ* and *ṇ* are said to be only alveolars by Tolkāppiyaṉār. They are now pronounced as cerebrals. The change of *r* to *ṭ* is mostly seen when a double *r* is found in words. That *rr* should originally have been pronounced as *ttr* is determined by the pronunciation of people residing in Jaffna.

It may be seen that *r* began to be used in some instances in place of *r* and *vice-versa* even before the time of Tolkāppiyam.

Cf. Karuṅkōṭṭimam (P. N. 246) (Funeral fire ignited with black branches)

Kariyār (Kuraḷ 277)

Karuppuñ civappum vekuḷi-p poruḷa (Tol. Col. 372)

Niṟatturu v-uṇartarku m-uriya v-eṉpa (*ibid* 373)

Uru-tava naṉi-y-eṉa varū mūṉru

Mikuti ceyyum poruḷav-eṉpa (*ibid* 299)

P.D.	Tam. (O)	Tam. (M)	Kan. (O)	Kan. (M)	Tel. (O)	Tel. (M)	Mal. (O)	Mal. (M)
	kīṟṟù	kīṭṭù (coll)		kīṭu		kīṭu		kīṟṟù
	ūṟṟù	ūṭṭù (coll)		ūṭe		ūṭa		ūṟṟù
	paṟṟù			paṭṭu } paṭṭu }		paṭṭu		paṟṟù
	oṉṟù	oṇṇù		o*n*du		oṇḍu		o*nn*u
ṉ[1]	ṉ	ṉ		*n*		*n*	ṉ	*n*
	aṉuppù					a*n*upu		a*n*uppuka
	āṉai			ā*n*e		ē*n*ūga		ā*n*a
	īṉu		ī*n*	īnu		ī*n*u		ī*n*

If we compare the *uṟu* in the last sūtra with *uru* in *Uru* tuvi puru ..iti dvādaśa bahunāmāni

(Yāska's Nirukta 3, 1)

and *uru* in the word *urukrama* used in the Ṛigvēda with reference to Viṣṇu, it gives room to infer that *r* was changed to *ṟ* even before the time of Tolkāppiyam. This *ṟ* is found only medially in Tamil words.

1. This is the last consonant mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṉār. It was never used initially in words. It is not at all mentioned in the alphabets of Kannaḍa or Telugu. Though it is mentioned in the alphabets of Malayalam, it has almost been replaced by *n*. It might have been lost in them perhaps through the influence of the large use of Sanskrit words. One will be convinced of the need of such a sound when he pronounces words like *aṉṉai* when *ṉ* is a medial. The dental *n* is correctly pronounced if it is either the initial element of a word or if it is followed by the dental explosives *t*, *th*, *d* or *dh*. Even though *ṉ* is lost in Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam so far as script

P.D.	*Tam.*		*Kan.*		*Tel.*		*Mal.*	
	(O)	(M)	(O)	(M)	(O)	(M)	(O)	(M)
	uṉṟu			uṇṇisu				uṇṇu
	kuṉṟū			koṇḍa		koṇḍa		kuṇṇu
	caṇṇam	sannam		sanna		saṇṇa		saṇṇam

1·122. *Development of additional consonants in the history of the individual languages.*

1·1221. *Tamil*

Before dealing with the additional consonantal sounds that have crept in Tamil, it is necessary to state that, in her ancient period, *āytam* was pronounced in six ways according as it was followed by *k, c, ṭ, t, p* and *ṟ*. Before *k*, it was a guttural sound corresponding to Sanskrit *jihvāmūlīya*, before *c* a palatal sound, before *ṭ* an alveolar sound, before *t* a dental sound, before *p* a labial sound corresponding to Sanskrit *upadhmānīya* and before *ṟ* a trilled fricative sound. This is evident from the following sūtras of Tolkāppiyam :—

Cārntu-vari ṉ-allatu tamakkiyal p-ila-v-eṉa-t
Tērntu-veḷi-p paṭutta v-ēṉai mūṉṟun
Tattañ-cārpiṟ piṟappoṭu civaṇi
Otta kāṭciyiṟ ṟammiyal p-iyalum (Tol. Eḻut. 101)
Takaram varumvaḻi y-āyta nilaiyalum
Pukar-iṉ ṟ-eṉmaṉār pulamai yōrē (*ibid* 370)
Cf. (ka∴ṟītù and kaṟṟītù)
Āyta nilaiyalum varai-nilai y-iṉṟē
Ṭakaram varūuṅ kālai y-āṉa (*ibid* 400)
(*Cf.* mu∴ṭītù and muṭṭītù)

is concerned, I am able to see from those who have them as their mother-tongue that *ṉ* exists in their pronunciation. While pronouncing words like Kannaḍa *āna*, Telugu *enuga* and Malayalam *āna*, their tongue does not touch the upper teeth, but touch the front part of their palate.

But now all the six sounds have been replaced by one of them—the guttural sound. This is perhaps due to the fact that the author of Naṉṉūl did not recognise that the symbol (: or ∴) represented six sounds, but it represented only one sound. He stated that the organ of articulation of *āytam* was *talai*.

Cf. Āyta-k k-iṭan-talai (Naṉ. 87)

It seems such a change in the pronunciation could not have come earlier than the 8th or 9th century A. D. [1]

The new sounds that crept into Tamil should have been due to the influence of the study of Sanskrit by the Tamilians. According to the rules of Tolkāppiyaṉār the Sanskrit words like *gaṅgā, pañjara, danta, rambhā, vāhana, āśā, māsa* were Tamilised into *kaṅkai, pañcaram, tantam, arampai, vākanam, ācai, mācam*. They should have been pronounced only in that manner till the Tamilians began to learn the original Sanskrit words in the form mentioned above and then though they did not change the script of the words *kaṅkai* etc., they might have pronounced them with the sounds *g, j, d, b, h,* ś and *s*. By analogy the same might have spread to the native words like *taṅkai, añcukai, anta, kāmpu, caṭṭi* etc. Symmetry would have introduced *ḍ* and *ṣ* also. Later on people began to think that only *g, j, ḍ, d* and *b* could be pronounced after the corresponding nasals and hence they were inherent sounds of the language. But through a comprehensive study of many languages of the world, modern philologists have found out that every language may have its own way of pronunciation and it is dogmatic to state that only voiced consonants could be pronounced after nasals. [3] Hence the theory of the *convertibility of surds and sonants* expounded by Dr. Caldwell may hold good only to the modern Tamil.

1. H. G. T. pp. 68–70.
2. Vaṭacor kiḷavi vaṭa-v-eḻut t-orīi
   Eḻuttoṭu puṇarnta col-l-ā kum-m-ē. (Tol. Col. 401)
   Citaintaṉa variṉu m-iyaintaṉa varaiyār. (*ibid* 402)
3. *Cf.* H. G. T. pp. 49 to 58.

The new sounds that have been introduced are *g, j, ḍ, d, b, ś, ṣ, s* and *h*. Tamil has not introduced new symbols for *g, j, ḍ, d* and *b*, but uses the symbols க, ச, ட, த and ப used for the voiceless consonants *k, c, ṭ, t* and *p*. Some Tamil scholars like the commentators of *Nālāyirappirapantam* have adopted the grantha script for *ś, ṣ, s* and *h*. Certain purists are against their introduction. But they do not realise that they themselves pronounce some of them as *ś* and *h*. For instance they (of Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts) pronounce சட்டி and அகம் as *śaṭṭi* and *aham* and not as *caṭṭi*, and *akam* or *agam*. Young children of the Tamilnāḍu and the foreigners will not be put to much strain in learning the pronunciation of the sounds of this simplest language if separate symbols are adopted to the new sounds that have been introduced.

Another point to be noted is that *ṭ* and *ṇ* which, according to Tolkāppiyaṉār,[1] were alveolar are now pronounced as cerebrals. But in Sanskrit they were cerebrals as is seen from the description of their place of articulation in the *Prātiśākyas*. Hence Dr. Caldwell's opinion that Sanskrit cerebrals may have been borrowed from Dravidian languages deserves scrutiny.[2]

1·1222. *Kannaḍa* :—

At present it is not possible to trace the presence of *ṉ* in Kannaḍa. It should have been lost before the 6th century A.D. *Ṟ* and *ḻ* which are found in old Kannaḍa are now lost, *r* and *ḍ* having respectively taken their place.[3] She has borrowed the following sounds from Sanskrit :—*kh, g, gh ; ch, j, jh ; ṭh, ḍ, ḍh ; th, d, dh ; ph, b, bh ; ś, ṣ, s* and *h*.

1. *Cf.* Ṭakāra ṇakāra nuṉinā v-aṇṇam (Tol. Eḻut. 91)
   (Ṭ and Ṇ are produced by the contact of the tip of the tongue and the tip of the palate.)
2. *Cf.* C. D. G. pp. 147–150 and H. G. T. pp. 58–60.
3. Atipīḍanadim rēphā
   Śritam-āda ṟakāramum samaṁtu ḍakārā
   Śritam-āda ḻanumaṁgī
   Kṛtapadalatvake sanēma sellada kuḻanum
   (S. M. D. Sūtra 18)

In addition to them the *anusvāra* and *visarga* also were borrowed. Even though native words having *k, c, ṭ, t* and *p* sometimes change to *g, j, ḍ, d* and *b*, they never change to the second or the fourth letter of each varga (*i.e.*) to *kh, ch, ṭh, th, ph*, or *gh, jh, ḍh, dh, bh*. They are found only in tadbhava words. Sometimes in native words *c* changes to *s*.

Cf. Tamil *cuṟṟu*; Kannaḍa *suttu*.

1·1223. *Telugu* :—

In the earliest period *ḻ* and *ṉ* were lost; later on *ṟ* also was lost. *C* developed into palatal *c* and dental *ts*.[1] The *ṅ* and *ñ* sounds in native words were represented by *ardhānusvāra*. She has borrowed the following sounds from Sanskrit :—*kh, g, gh; ch, j, jh; ṭh, ḍ, ḍh; th, d, dh; ph, b, bh; ś, ṣ, s and h*; later on *j* split into two—*j* and *dz*

But the native grammarians have stated that *g, j, ḍ, d, b s* and *h* are native sounds. Since the original *k, c, ṭ, t*, and *p* might have gradually changed to those sounds under certain circumstances, they might have said so. Since those sounds are not mentioned by *Tolkāppiyaṉār* and the Tamil sounds *k, c, ṭ, t* and *p* have in course of time changed to *g, j, ḍ, d, b, s* and *h*, it may not be far wrong to assume that the latter set of sounds were borrowed from Sanskrit.

The *anusvāra* and *visarga* also were borrowed from Sanskrit. The *anusvāra* has divided itself into two :—*pūrṇānusvāra* and *ardhānusvāra*.

1·1224. *Malayalam* :—

N has gradually disappeared. The alveolar *ṯ* is preserved. *Ṟ* and *ṉ* are now considered to be cerebral. The following sounds have been borrowed from Sanskrit :—*kh, g, gh; ch, j and jh; ṭh, ḍ, ḍh; ph, b, bh; ś, ṣ, s and h*.

1. Ad-dantyas-tālavyaścuḥ (Ā. S. C. 19)

1·123. *Certain Consonantal Laws.*

1·1231. *Prosthesis* :—

When a sound is added at the beginning of a word, the process is called prosthesis.

Tamil—āṉam [1] — māṉam (fault)
ilvalaṉ [2] — vilvalaṉ

1·1232. *Paragoge* :—

When a sound is added at the end of a word, it is called *paragoge*.

Tamil— ā — āṉ [3]
ū — ūṉ [4]

1·1233. *Metathesis.* —

In pronouncing a word, two sounds which are close to each other sometimes change places. This is due to the fact that the mind, before the first sound is pronounced,

1. In the sūtra : Valleḻuttu mikiṉu m-āṉa m-illai.
(Tol. Eḻut. 231)
the commentators split *mikiṉumāṉam* into *mikiṉum māṉam* instead of *mikiṉum āṉam* : it is the word *āṉam* which is the tadbhava of *hānam* that can mean 'harm.' Hence later on *māṉam* began to be used in the sense of harm.
2. *Vātāpi-v-ilvalaṉ* was wrongly split into *Vātāpi* and *Vilvalaṉ*.
3. The word *āṉmuṉ* in the sūtra
Āṉmuṉ varūu m-ikāra pakaram
Tāṉmika-t tōṉṟi-k kuṟukalu m-urittē
(Tol. Eḻut. 234)
was mistaken to have been made of *āṉ* and *muṉ* instead of *ā* and *muṉ* with an augment *ṉ*.
4. *Cf.* Tol. Eḻut. 270 and Ūṉai-k kuṟitta v-uyir-ellām
(Kuṟaḷ 1013)

thinks of the second sound. Hence the second sound is first pronounced. Then the mind sees that the first sound has not been pronounced and it is pronounced after it. *viz.*

Tam.—tacai — catai (śatai [coll.])
civiṟi — viciṟi (viśiṟi [coll])
kutirai — kurudai [coll.]

Kan.—malar — maral.
alar — aral.

1·1234. *Haplology* :—

When two similar syllables come together, one is sometimes dropped. This process is called *haplology*. This is because the mind after the previous syllable is pronounced thinks that the succeeding syllable has been pronounced and hence proceeds further *viz.*

Tam.—Ātaṉ + tantai = Āntai, Ātantai [1]
Pūtaṉ + tantai = Pūntai, Pūtantai.
kāmam + uṟutal = kāmuṟutal.
ēmam + ākkal = ēmākkal.
teṅkū + kāy = teṅkū + am + kāy = teṅkaṅkāy = tēṅkāy

Tel. — tommidi + padi = tombadi.
vaṅga + kāya = vaṅkāya.
kaṁtsu + cembu = kañcembu.

1·1235. *Metanalysis* :—

Two words or parts of a word are sometimes analysed incorrectly and this produces new forms of words.

Tamil—Mikiṉumāṉam which was made of *mikiṉum* and *āṉam* was wrongly split into *mikiṉum* and *maṉam* so that a new word *maṉam* having the meaning of *āṉam* came into existence.

1 *Cf.* Ātaṉum pūtaṉuṁ kūṟiya v-iyalpoṭu
Peyaroṟ ṟ-akaran tuvara-k keṭumē. (Tol. Eḻut. 349)

Similarly *Vatāpivilvalaṉ* which was made of *vātāpi* and *ilvalaṉ* was wrongly split so that it began to be considered that it was made up of *vātāpi* and *vilvalaṉ*, so that a new word *vilvalaṉ* came into existence.

Telugu—The words *aḍugulu* (cognate of *Tamil aḍikaḷ*), *elukalu* (cognate of *Tamil elikaḷ*) *īgalu* (cognate of *Tamil īkkaḷ*), *ōḍikalu* (cognate of *Tamil ōḍaikaḷ*), *maḍugulu* (cognate of *Tamil maḍukkaḷ*) which are made up of the singular nouns *aḍu, elu, ī, ōḍi*, and *maḍu* and the plural suffix *kalu* or *gulu* in *adugulu* etc. were wrongly split as *aḍugu* and *lu* etc., so that new forms *aḍugu, eluka, īga, ōḍika, maḍugu* have come into existence and the old forms have died. Consequently *lu* began to be considered as the plural suffix in place of *kalu* or *galu*.[1]

1·1236. *Convertibility of surds and sonants*:—

This law was first expounded by Dr. Caldwell. According to him க் (*k*), ட் (*ṭ*), த் (*t*), and ப் (*p*) are pronounced in Tamil as surds at the beginning of words and wherever they are doubled and as sonants when single in the middle of words. ச் is pronounced as surd when it is doubled and as *ś* at the beginning of words and when it is single in the middle of words.[2] It is beyond doubt that this law is applicable to modern Tamil. But since it is clear from the first chapter of the Eḻuttatikāram of Tolkāppiyam that the sounds *g, j, ḍ, d, b* and *ś* did not exist in old Tamil, this law cannot be applied to old Tamil.[3]

1·1237. *Substitution*:—

One consonant replaces another without the influence of neighbouring sounds, *viz.*

Tamil—*k*oppūḻ — *t*oppuḷ.

1. This suggestion was first given to me by Sri Appanna, Telugu Pandit, Annamalai University.
2. *Cf.* C. D. G. pp. 138–139.
3. For a detailed examination of this law refer to H. G. T. pp. 49–57.

1·13. SANDHI

In every language the words which form parts of a sentence have to be pronounced in quick succession, one after another. Similarly the parts of a word-stem and suffix or root and suffix also have to be pronounced in quick succession. This pronouncing the two parts of a word or the two parts of a sentence is strictly speaking, the meaning of *sandhi*. Pāṇini, the renowned grammarian in Sanskrit, uses the term *saṁhitā* [1] to denote the same. Tolkāppiyaṉār, the renowned grammarian in Tamil, uses the term *puṇar-nilai* [2] or *puṇar-moḻi-nilai.* [3] The later Tamil grammarians uses the term *puṇarcci*. Some philologists used the term *sandhi* to denote the changes which occur when two parts of a word or two words are pronounced together.[4]

The *sandhi* between two parts of a word is called *internal sandhi* and that between two words is called *external sandhi*. In Tamil the external sandhi is divided into case-relation sandhi (*vēṟṟumai-kuṟitta-puṇar-moḻi-nilai* [5]) and non-case-relation sandhi (*vēṟṟumai-y-alvaḻi-p-puṇarmoḻi-nilai*). If the former of the two words stands in case-relation to the latter, the sandhi is called the case-relation sandhi. If it is not so, it is called the non-case-relation sandhi.

Hence before one determines the *sandhi-change* in Tamil one should know beforehand the meanings of the words to decide whether the sandhi comes under the case-relation sandhi or the other.

The leading principle of sandhi is the ease of pronunciation which generally results in the avoidance of hiatus and in assimilation. Sometimes doubling of existing sounds, insertion of new

1. *Cf.* Paraḥ sannikarṣaḥ saṁhitā (Aṣṭ.1, 4, 109)
2. *Cf.* Tol. Eḻut. 111.
3. *ibid* 113.
4. C. G. G. by Wright p. 111.
5. Tol. Eḻut. 113.

sounds or elision of existing sounds also are needed for the ease of pronunciation.

If the former word ends in a vowel and the latter word commences also in a vowel, hiatus is formed. Since the vowels are all open sounds, it is not possible to pronounce both of them contiguously. Hence one of the following three processes should play its part :—(1) either of the two may be dropped (2) both of them may be dropped and a third may be replaced as is generally done in Sanskrit, or (3) a consonant which is partly open or partly closed like *y* or *v* may be inserted.[1] In ancient Tamil the last process was adopted, except when the final of the former part was *ŭ*. In that case *ŭ* was dropped. But in later Tamil and Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam, both the first and the third are found.

Tam.[2] — maṇi + ampalattuḷ = maṇi-y-ampalattuḷ (T. A. S. 1, 3, 4)
amma + ivaṉ = amma-v-ivaṉ (P. N. 18, 29)
naṭukkŭ + iṉṟi = naṭukkiṉṟi (*ibid* 2, 20)
adu + eṅgē = adeṅgē

Kan. — ade + alli = ade-y-alli
guru + annu = guru-v-annu
marada + ēṇi = maradēṇi
maneyalli + iddanu = maneyalliddanu

Tel. — amma + iccenu = amma-y-iccenu
ātaniki + ēvuru = ātanikēvuru (R. K. p. 7)

Mal.[3] — kara + uḷḷa = kara-y-uḷḷa
taṭa + unnu = taṭa-v-unnu
kāṟṟŭ + aṭikkunnŭ = kāṟṟaṭikkunnu
alla + ennu = allennu

1. But Tolkāppiyaṉār suggests that sometimes hiatus may remain. *Cf.* Tol. Eḻut. 141.
2. For a detailed examination of the insertion of *y* and *v*, *Cf.* H. G. T. pp. 94 and 95.
3. K. P. pp. 112–114.

These two rules hold good both in external sandhi and in internal sandhi. The following may serve as examples for the latter.

Tam. — maṇi + ai (2nd case-suffix) = maṇi-y-ai
palā + ai = palā + iṉ + ai = palā-v-iṉai
nākkŭ + ai = nākkŭ-iṉ + ai = nākkiṉai

Kan. — giri + inda (3rd case-suffix) = giri-y-inda
hu + inda = hu-v-inda
karaḍu + inda = karaḍinda

Tel. — iṇṭi + andu = iṇṭiyandu
taru + u = taru-v-u

Mal. — vaḻi + e (2nd case-suffix) = vaḻi-y-e
atu + e = atu + in + e = atine
pō + unnu = pō-v-unnu.

In Telugu we find instances like *puṭṭe + oka-mānini = puṭṭe-n-oka mānini* (R. K. p. 8), *kānti + intiki = kānti-n-intiki* (R. K. p. 11) where *n* appears to have been used to prevent hiatus. But on careful consideration we see that *n* which originally disappeared from *puṭṭe* and *kānti* seems to have made its reappearance; *puṭṭe* is the curtailed form of *puṭṭenu*; and *kānti* is the curtailed form of *kāntin* where *n* is a part of the flexional increment *in*, of which a detailed examination will be made in the chapter dealing with case-suffixes.

Similarly in the Tamil words *irukkiṉṟaṉa*, *irundaṉaṉ*, *poruḷaṉa*, *kāṭṭiṉēṉ*, *padiṉmūṉṟŭ*, *ṉ* is said by Dr. Caldwell to have been introduced to prevent hiatus.[1] The reason for his having said so is that he seems to have derived them thus:

irukkiṉṟaṉa = irukkiṉṟa + a (the neuter plural suffix)
irundaṉaṉ = irunda + aṉ (masc. sing. suffix)
poruḷaṉa = poruḷa + a
kāṭṭiṉēṉ = kāṭṭi + ēṉ
padiṉ-mūṉṟŭ = padi + mūṉṟŭ

1. C. D. G. p. 177.

But their derivation seems to be this :—

irukkiṉṟaṉa=iru+kiṉṟu+aṉ+a [1]
irundaṉaṉ=irundu+aṉ+aṉ [1]
poruḷana=poruḷ+aṉ+a [1]
kāṭṭiṉēṉ=kāṭṭu+iṉ+ēṉ [2]
padiṉ-mūṉṟŭ=pattŭ+iṉ+mūṉṟŭ [3]

It may be evident from this that *ṉ* is a part of the *cāriyai* or the flexional increment *aṉ* in the first three cases, that it is a part of *iṉ*, the past tense-suffix in the fourth case and that it is a part of the flexional increment *iṉ* in the last case.

Besides since *m* is sometimes found preventing hiatus as in *Tamil eṉṉamō* and *Kan. guru-m-am* Dr. Caldwell states "I regard *m* as the original form of the euphonic copula of the Telugu and *n* and *y* as a softening of the same" But the latio-dental *v* needs greater exertion in pronunciation than the labial *m*. Hence it is easier to assume that *v* in such cases became *m*. Then Dr. Caldwell's statements, "I regard *m* as the original form of the euphonic copula of the Telugu [4]" and "In Tamil also *n* is used instead of *v* in a considerable number of instances" [5] need revision. Besides I do not know why he should have concluded that one consonant alone was used for this purpose and that too might possibly have been *v* changing

1. Since such cases of internal sandhi have to be taken under *alvaḻi-p-puṇarcci*. the use of *cāriyai* may be said to have been sanctioned by Tolkāppiyaṉār in Tol. Eḻut. 113.
2. *Cf.* Naṉṉūl 142 dealing with past-tense-signs.
3. *Cf.* . paṭṭaṉ muṉ-variṉ
   Kuṟṟiya l-ukara meyyoṭuṅ keṭumē
   Muṟṟa-v-iṉ varūu m-iraṇṭalaṅ kaṭaiyē
   (Tol. Eḻut. 434)
4. C. D. G. p. 176
5. (*ibid*) p. 176

to *m*, *n* and *y*[1]. A careful study of the literature of the Dravidian languages clearly shows that in some situations it is easier to insert *y* and in other situations *v*. The nature of the *intervocalic consonant* is determined by the nature of the vowels that precede and that succeed.

Tam. — *Cf.* Ā-y-irutiṇaiyiṉ (Tol. col. 1.)
Ā-v-ōvākum (*ibid*, 195)

Kan. — kavi-y-ār
kuḍu-v-udu

Mal. — vaḻi-y-ākum
tiru-v-ōṇam.

Dr. Caldwell has also stated that *r* is in some instances used to prevent hiatus in each of the Dravidian idioms[2]. The instance that he quotes from Tamil is *kā-r-um* for *kā-v-um*. But *r* here does not seem to me to be used to prevent hiatus for the root *kā* (to protect) has changed in colloquial Tamil to *kār* and hence we hear forms like *kāṟkkiṟāṉ*, *kāṟppāṉ* etc. Similarly we find in some districts that the words *dēha* and *kōkkāli* are pronounced as *drēha* and *kōrkkāli*. Since in the above instances *r* is not inserted between vowels, I have to differ from him so far as Tamil is concerned.

1·131. *Special characteristics of internal sandhi* :—

When case-suffixes are added to nominal stems, flexional increments *iṉ*, *an*. *oṉ*, *attŭ*, *vaṟṟŭ* etc. are added in Tamil, *in*, *ar*, *aṇ* and *d* are added in Kannaḍa, *in* is added in Telugu[3]

1. (*ibid*) p. 174
2. (*ibid*) p. 180.
3. The accusative of *vāḍu* (he) in Tel. is *vānini*. Its derivation according to descriptive grammarians is *avanu* + *ni* = *vānu* + *ni* = *vānini*, where they consider

and *in*, *attu* etc. in Malayalam. Similarly when personal terminations are added to verbal stems, we sometimes find this flexional increment between them. *viz.*

Tam. — ā+ai=ā+iṉ+ai=ā-v-iṉ-ai[1]=āviṉai.
atu+ai=atu+aṉ+ai=at-aṉ+ai[2]=ataṉai
kō+ai=kō+oṉ+ai=koṉai[3]
maram+ai=maram+attŭ+ai[4]=mara[5]+ attŭ+ ai = mara+ttu[6]+ai=marattai.
yā+ai=yā+vaṟṟu+ai[7]=yāvaṟṟai.

Kan. — mātu+im=mātu+in+im=mātinim[8]

that *ni* is the accusative case-suffix. But on comparing *Tamil nērmai, perumai, avai, maṉai. kōrikkai, uṭaimai, etc*, with *Telugu nērimi, pērimi, avi, maniki, kōriki, oḍami* etc., I am led to believe that, since corresponding to *ai* at the end of Tamil words, there is *i* at the end of Telugu words, *i* should have been the accusative suffix corresponding to the Tamil accusative suffix *ai*. In that case *vānini* should be derived thus :—*avanu+i = avanu+in+i* (where *in* is the flexional increment) =*vānu+in+i=vānini.*

1. *Cf.* Tol. Eḻut. 174.
2. *Cf.* (*ibid*) 177. Dr. Caldwell says that *aṉ* is probably of the same origin as *am* of many neuter nouns and *iṉ* is an inflexional increment C. D. G. pp 260-1. In old Tamil *aṉ* alone was used as an inflexional increment and the use of *iṉ* is later.
3. *Cf.* (*ibid*) 181. Hiatus is permitted here.
4. *Cf.* (*ibid*) 186.
5. *Cf.* (*ibid*) 332.
6. *Cf.* (*ibid*) 126.
7. *Cf. ibid* 176.
8. *Cf.* S. M. D. 108

kela + oḷ = kela + aṟ + oḷ = kelavaṟoḷ [1]
teṅku + im = teṅku + aṇ + im = teṅkaṇim [2]
mara + oḷ = mara + d + oḷ = maradoḷ [3].

1. *Cf. ibid* 110. If we compare Kannaḍa *kelavaṟoḷ, peṟavaṟōḷ, kiṟidaṟōḷ*, etc. with Tamil *cilavaṟṟuḷ, piṟavaṟṟuḷ, ciṟitanuḷ*. the Kannaḍa increment *aṟ* sometimes corresponds to the Tamil increment *vaṟṟu* and sometimes to *aṉ*.
2. *Cf. ibid* 110. The author of the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa says that the increment *aṇ* comes only after words denoting direction. Tolkāppiyaṉār says in Tol Eḻut. 202 that *teṟkū+kaṇ* etc, become *teṟkaṇ* etc. *Kaṇ* in Tamil is originally a noun meaning place and later on became the seventh case-suffix also. Hence originally the Tamil words *vaṭakkaṇ, kiḻakkaṇ, teṟkaṇ* and *mēṟkaṇ* may have meant the northern direction, eastern direction, southern direction and western direction. If we compare them with the Kannaḍa words *baḍagaṇim, keḷagaṇim, teṅkaṇim, mēgaṇim*, we may infer that the Kannaḍa increment *aṇ* is a part of *kaṇ*. and the descriptive grammarians split *teṅkaṇim* into *teṅku + aṇ + im*, instead of *ten + kaṇ + im*, since *ku* in Tamil *vaṭakkū* etc. means place. *Cf* Sanskrit *ku = earth.*
3 *Cf. ibid* 106. In sūtra 136, the author of the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa says that the nominative case is sometimes used instead of the locative case; one of the examples given in his own commentary under it is *ondu divasam bandam*. This suggests two things; (1) that *divasam* is the nominative case and not *divasa* and the case-suffixes may be dropped as in Tamil. Hence Kannaḍa *maradoḷ* can be compared with Tamil *marattuḷ*. In the same *sūtra* he says that *n* is introduced between words ending in *a*

Tel. — Rukmiṇin for Rukmiṇini (Rukmiṇi+in+i)[1]
dāniki (adi+an+ki=dān+ki=dāniki)[2] where *i* after *n* is the enunciative sonant)
dīniki (idi+in+ki=dīniki)[3]

Mal. — ārambhattil=ārambham+attu+il[4] (seventh case-suffix.)

and the second case-suffix *am*. The examples given are *polanam*, *nelanam*, *bilanam* etc. If we compare them with Tamil *pulaṉai*, *nilaṉai*, *pilaṉai*, it seems to me that *ṉ* was the final element of *polaṉ*, *nelaṉ* etc., it was dropped in Kannaḍa in the nominative case and it made its reappearance in the accusative case. Hence the historical grammarian may as well state that *ṉ*, originally the final element of the stem, made its reappearance. Besides the words *polanam* etc. had their accusative case-sign dropped, since it is the genius of the Dravidian languages to have the case-sign dropped after the stem takes the flexional increment. It is sanctioned by Tolkāppiyaṉār in Tol. col. 103 and 105. But later on it was not so recognised and hence the descriptive grammarians have stated the flexional increment *am* as the second case-suffix. Since *m* and *n* can interchange in Kannaḍa (S. M. D. 161) *am* is identical with the Tamil increment *aṉ*.

1. It has already been shown that the descriptive grammarians have taken the *ni* as the accusative case-suffix.

2–3. Dr. Caldwell thinks that *ni* is the flexional increment in both *dāniki* and *dīniki* and it is identical with Tamil *iṉ* (C. D. G. p. 262); but it seems to me that *ṉ* in *dāniki* and *dīniki* is respectively the latter part of *an* and *in* and *i* is the enunciative sonant.

4. *Cf.* K. P. p. 1

maratte = maram + attu + e[1] (accusative case-suffix).
rājāvine = rājā + in + e[2]

When the suffix *ku* or *ge* is added to pronominal stems which generally end in a consonant, an enunciative sonant is inserted between them. It is *a* in many a case, but is sometimes *i* or *u*.

Tam. — tām + kŭ = tam + kŭ = tam-a-k-kŭ
yāṉ + kŭ = eṉ + kŭ = eṉ-a-k-k ŭ

Kan. — O K. ān + ge = en + ge = en-a-ge
M. K. nān + ge = nan + ge = nan-a-ge

Mal. — ñān + kŭ = en + kŭ = en-i-k-kŭ
nām + ku = nam + ku = nam-u-k-kŭ

1·132 Many rules relating to sandhi are common both to the external sandhi and the internal sandhi as the doubling of consonants after a short vowel in two lettered words, the assimilation of consonants and the insertion of *cāriyai*.

Tam. viz. (1) kal + āṉai = kal-l-āṉai[3]
nām + ai = nam + ai = nam-m-ai

Kan. — kal + ellam = kal-l-ellam
nin + im = nin-n-im

Mal. — tala + keṭṭŭ = tala-k-keṭṭŭ
nām + e = nam-m e

Tam. (2) kal + tīrntatŭ = kaṟṟīrntatŭ[4]
kal + tu = kaṟṟŭ
muḷ + tītŭ = muṭṭītŭ
vēḷ + tu = vēṭṭu

1. *Cf.* *ibid* p. 187
2. *Cf.* *ibid* p. 185
3. *Cf.* Tol. Eḻut. 161
4. *ibid* 150 & 369

(3) maram + kaṇṭāṉ = maraṅkaṇṭāṉ [1]
tām + kaṇ = tam + kaṇ = taṅkaṇ

(4) pala + kōṭū = palavaṟṟukkōṭū [2]
pala + ai = palavaṟṟai

(5) ēḻ + kāyam = ēḻ-aṉ-kāyam [3]
ēḻ + ai = ēḻ-aṉ-ai

(6) atu + kōṭū = ataṉkōṭū [4]
atu + ai = ataṉai

1·133. *External sandhi :—*

1·1331. *Tamil :—*

(*a*) If the former word ends in a vowel and the latter word commences with *k, c, t or p, k, c, t or p* is generally doubled.

1. *viz.* viḷa + kuṟitū = viḷa-k-kuṟitū (non-case relation)
viḷa + kuṟumai = viḷa-k-kuṟumai (case-relation)
tārā + ciṟitū = tārā-c-ciṟitū
tārā + kāl = tārā-k-kāl
puli + koṟṟaṉ = puli-k-koṟṟaṉ
kiḷi + talai = kiḷi-t-talai
tī + peritū = tī-p-peritū
ī + puṟam = ī-p-puṟam
kaṭu + ciṟitū = kaṭu-c-ciṟitū
kaṭu + kāy = kaṭu-k-kāy
koṇmū + ciṟitū = koṇmū-c-ciṟitū
koṇmū + celavu = koṇmū-c-celavu
cē + peritū = cē-p-peritū
vē + cāṭi = vē-c-cāṭi
tiṉai + kuṟitū = tiṉai-k-kuṟitū
yāṉai + kōṭū = yāṉai-k-kōṭū
kokkū + kaṭitū = kokku-k-kaṭitū
kokkū + kaṭumai = kokku-k-kaṭumai

1. *ibid* 313
2. *ibid* 221
3. *ibid* 389
4. *ibid* 264

There are certain exceptions:—Instead of *k. c, t*, or *p* being doubled[1] *ṅ. ñ, n*, or *m* is inserted.

viz. viḷa + kōṭū = viḷaṅkōṭū etc.

2. The increments *iṉ*, *attu* etc. are added *viz.*
maka + kai = maka + iṉ + kai = maka-v-iṉ-kai
maka + kai = maka + attu + kai = makattukkai

3. Sometimes *a* and *u* are inserted after the final *ā* and *ū* of one-lettered words and two-lettered words whose former vowel is short.

viz. palā + kōṭū = palā-a-k-kōṭū[2]
uṭū + kuṟai = uṭū-u-k-kuṟai[3]

(*b*) 1. (*a*) If the former word is a *toḻir-peyar* ending in a consonant and the latter word commences with *k, c, t* or *p*, *u* is inserted and *k, c, t* or *p* is doubled.

viz.[4] uriñ + kaṭitū = uriñ-u-k-kaṭitū
porun + ciṟitū = porun-u-c-ciṟitū
maṇ + kaṭitū = maṇṇ-u-k-kaṭitū
cem + kaṭitū = cemm-u-k-kaṭitū
val + peritū = vall-u-p peritū
tuḷ + kaṭitū = tuḷḷ-u-k-kaṭitū

(*b*) If the latter word commences with a nasal, *u* alone is inserted in the middle.

uriñ + māṇṭatū = uriñ-u-māṇṭatū

2. If the former word ends in *n* or *m* and the latter commences with *k, c, t* or *p, n* or *m* is changed to *k, c, t* or *p* or *ṅ, ñ, n* or *m*.

viz. verin + kuṟai = veriṅ-kuṟai or verik-kuṟai
kuḷam + karai = kuḷaṅ-karai or kuḷak-karai

1. Tol. Eḻut. Uyirmayaṅkiyal & Kuṟṟiyal-ukara-p-puṇariyal.

2–3. In *palā-a* and *uṭū-u* *a* and *u* are recognised as separate sounds by Tolkāppiyaṉār; but later grammarians took *ā a* and *ū u* as one sound having three *mātrās*.

4. Tol. Eḻut. Puḷḷimayaṅkiyal.

3. If the former ends in ṉ or l and the latter commences with k, c, t or p, ṉ or l is changed to ṟ in case-relation to sandhi. *viz.*

pon̲ + pān̲ai = poṟpān̲ai
kal + puṟam = kaṟpuṟam

4. If the former ends in y, r or l and the latter commences with k, c, t or p, k, c, t or p is doubled in case-relation sandhi.

viz. nāy + kāl = nāy-k-kāl
tēr + kāl = tēr-k-kāl
pūḻ + kāl = pūḻ-k-kāl

5. If the former ends in ṇ or ḷ and the latter commences with k, c, t or p, ṇ or ḷ is changed to ṭ. These are also exceptions to the above rule

6. [1] If the former word ends in l or ṉ and the latter commences with t or n, t or n is changed to ṟ or ṉ.

viz. kal + tītū = kal + ṟītū = kaṟṟītū
kal + naṉṟū = kal + ṉaṉṟū = kaṉṉaṉṟū
poṉ + tītū = poṉ-ṟītū
poṉ + naṉṟū = poṉṉaṉṟū

7. [2] If the former word ends in ṇ or ḷ and the latter commences with t or n, t or n is changed to ṭ or ṇ.

viz maṇ + tītū = maṇṭītū
maṇ + naṉṟū = maṇṇaṉṟū
muḷ + tītū = muṭṭītū
muḷ + naṉṟū = muṇṇaṉṟū

Maṇṭītū, maṇṇaṉṟū, poṉṟītū, poṉṉaṉṟū etc. are examples for

1. Tol. Eḻut. 150.
2. *ibid* 151.

progressive assimilation, and *poṟpāṉai, kaṟpuṟam* etc. are examples for *regressive assimilation*.[1]

1·1332. *Kannaḍa* :—

If the latter word commences with *k, t* or *p* it is generally changed to *g, d* or *b*.

viz. paḷa + kannaḍa = paḷa-gannaḍa

1·1333. *Malayalam*[2] :—

1. If the former word ends in *n* or *m* and if it is followed by the pluralising particle *kaḷ*, *n* or *m* is changed to *ṅ*.

viz. maram + kaḷ = maraṅkaḷ and then maraṅṅaḷ
nin + kaḷ = niṅṅaḷ

2. If the former ends in *l* and the latter commences with *t*, both *l* and *t* are changed to *ṟ*.

viz. akal + tunnu = akaṟṟunnu
vil + tŭ = viṟṟŭ.

3. If the former ends in *ḷ* and the latter commences with *t*, both *ḷ* and *t* are changed to *ṭ*.

viz. vēḷ + tŭ = vēṭṭŭ
kēḷ + tŭ = kēṭṭŭ

4. If the former ends in *l* or *ḷ* and the latter commences with *m*, *l* and *ḷ* are respectively changed to *ṉ* or *ṇ*.

viz. nel + maṇi = neṉmaṇi
uḷ + ma = uṇma

5. If the former ends in *ṇ* and the latter commences with *t*, *t* is changed to *ṭ*.

viz. viṇ + talam = viṇṭalam.

1. If the latter sound is assimilated to the former, it is called progressive assimilation; and if the former is assimilated to the latter, it is called regressive assimilation.
2. *Cf.* K. P. Sandhiprakaraṇam.

6. If the former ends in a nasal and the latter commences with a voiceless consonant, the voiceless consonant is changed into a nasal.

viz. maram + kaḷ = maraṅṅaḷ
en + tu = ennu

1·1334. *Individual differences in sandhi* :—

Even though Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam agree in general principles regarding the changes in *sandhi*, yet they differ from one another in individual cases. For instance Kannaḍa has the forms *nālpattēḻ*, *niltam*, Malayalam has *pilppāṭu*, *polkkūṭam*, *kēḷkkumbōḷ* where *l* or *ḷ* does not undergo a change before a voiceless consonant and (in Malayalam) the voiceless consonant is also doubled. In such cases Tamil has invariably changes *l* to *ṟ*, *ṉ* to *ṟ* and *ḷ* to *ṭ*.

Cf. *Nāṟppattēḻ*, *niṉṟāṉ*, *piṟpāṭu*, *poṟkūṭam*, *kēṭkumpoḻutu* etc.

Kannaḍa has *koḷdam*, *altu*, *teṅkaṇ*, *muṅgay*, where Tamil has *koṇṭāṉ*, *aṉṟu*, *teṟkaṇ*, *muṉkai*. Such variations clearly prove that it is not possible to formulate universal laws in sandhi which will hold good for all languages at all times. The genius of one family of languages is different from that of another family. Even the languages which would have sprung from a common language change in their mode of combination in their individual development, so that their modes of combination begin to differ from those of the parent language. Even in the same language, the modes of combination begin to change in the different periods of her history. For instance in Tamil *ṉ* is replaced by other nasals in many places.

viz. tēṉ-kuṭam, tēṅ-kuṭam.[1]
eṉ-kai, eṅkai (colloq.)
naṉ-cey, nañ-cey (colloq.)

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1. Tol. Eḻut. 341 & 342.

2. MORPHOLOGY

2·1 *Classification of words*

On a careful study of the words in Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam, it may be inferred that in Primitive Dravidian there were only two parts of speech, one denoting the action and the other denoting the object related to the action. The former may be called *viṉai* or verb and the latter *peyar* or noun including the pronoun also. Both *peyar* and *viṉai* were divided into two classes, one referring to rational objects and the other to irrational objects. The former was divided into three sub-classes—those denoting masculine singular, those denoting feminine singular and those denoting masculine plural, feminine plural or both, and the latter into two—those denoting neuter singular [1] and those denoting neuter plural. [1]

2·11. *Tamil:—*

Tolkāppiyaṉār observes that primarily there are only two classes of words *peyar* (noun) and *viṉai* (verb) [2] and in a secondary sense there are two more—*iṭai-c-col* and *uriccol* which are always found along with the previous two.[3] From a close study of the chapter in Tolkāppiyam dealing with *uriccol* and the commentary on the same by Deyvaccilaiyār, it is evident that *uriccol* is nothing but *nominal root* and *verbal root*. In ancient India there were two schools of thought, one holding that all words can be derived from verbal roots and the other that all need not be derived from verbal roots *i.e.* that some may be derived from them and some may not; [4] Tolkāppiyaṉār seems to hold the latter view. *Iṭaiccol* are the case-suffixes, particles

1. *Cf.* H. G. T. p. 108, f. n. 5.
2. *Cf.* Tol. Col. 158.
3. *ibid* 159.
4. Yāska's Nirukta.

like *ē, ō, um* etc. and certain words like *āka, ākal, yā* etc. which were reduced to the position of particles.[1] Certain roots like *uru, tava, nani* began to be considered as individual words in course of time though they would have had those forms when they compounded with the following words. A striking parallelism is discernible between Tolkāppiyaṉār's classification and that in Yāska's Nirukta '*catvāri padajātāni nāmākhyātē ca upasarganipātāśca* (Y. N. 8, 8.) As Durgācārya points out, the priority given to *nāma* and *ākhyāta* indicate their primary importance while *upasarga* and *nipāta* are assigned to a subordinate position.[2]

2·12 *Kannaḍa*:—

Words are classified in Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa into *nāma* or noun, *ākhyāta* or verb and *avyaya* or particles[3]. The same classification is seen in Kannaḍakaippiḍi, though the word *kriyā* is used in place of *ākhyāta*. *Avyaya* here is identical with Tamil *iṭaiccol*.

2·13 *Telugu*:—

It seems that words are classified into nouns and verbs alone. But words like *iṭlu* have to be taken as particles.

2·14 *Malayalam*:—

Kēraḷapāṇinīyam first classifies words into *vācaka* and *dyōtaka*; further the *vācaka* is classified into three—*nāma* (noun), *kṛti* (verb) and *guṇa* (words denoting quality) and the *dyōtaka* is classified into *nipāta* and *avyaya*. *Nipātas* are the particles like *um* which cannot be traced to any root and *avyayas* are isolated nominal or verbal forms like *ennāl, ennu* etc.[4] Both the *nipāta* and *avyaya* fall under Tamil *iṭai-c-col*. The classification of words denoting quality as a separate category is perhaps after the definition of *uri-c-col* given by Naṉṉūlār.

1. Tol. Col. 249.
2. Durgācārya's comm. on Y. N. 8, 8.
3. S. M. D. sūtras 76, 216 and 300.
4. K. P. pp. 133–135.

2·15 From the above it is clear that, in Tamil and other languages pronouns are included among *nouns*, adjectives and adverbs are included under *verbs*, conjunctions, prepositions and interjections are included under *iṭaiccol*, so that corresponding to the eight parts of speech in English there are only three in these four Dravidian languages.

2·16 *Classification of nouns and verbs* :—

2·161 Nouns and verbs are classified in Tamil into *uyartiṇai* and *a∴ṟiṇai*. If they denote human beings and gods, they are said to be *uyartiṇai*; the rest are *a∴ṟiṇai*. *Uyartiṇai* or rational class [1] is subdivided into *āṇpāl* or masculine singular, *peṇpāl* or feminine singular and *palarpāl* or epicene plural; *a∴ṟiṇai* or irrational class [2] is subdivided in *oṉṟaṉpāl* or neuter singular and *palaviṉpāl* or neuter plural.

That this has been clearly recognised by Tolkāppiyaṉār is evident from the following sūtras :—

Na∴kā ṉ-oṟṟē y-āṭūu v-aṟicol. (Tol. col. 5)
Ḷa∴kā ṉ-oṟṟē makaṭūu v-aṟicol. (*ibid* 6)
Ra∴kā ṉ-oṟṟum pakara v-iṟutiyum
Mārai-k kiḷavi y-uḷappaṭa mūṉṟum
Nēra-t tōṉṟum palar-aṟi collē. (*ibid* 7)
Oṉṟaṟi kiḷavi ta-ṟa-ṭa v-ūrnta
Kuṉṟiya l-ukara-t t-iṟuti y-ākum (*ibid* 8)
Aā va eṉa varūu m-iṟuti
A-p-pāṉ mūṉṟē pala-v-aṟi collē (*ibid* 9)

2·162 *Kannaḍa*. A similar classification of nouns and verbs is seen in Kannaḍa also, though such names are not given. This is clear from the following statements found in 'A Grammar of the Modern Canarese Language' by Krishnamacharya :—

(1) Pulliṅga-v-entalū, strīliṅga-v-entalū, napuṁsakaliṅga-v-entalū mūru vidhavāgiruvadu. (p. 35)

1 & 2. Dr. Caldwell uses the term *high caste* and *casteless* corresponding to *uyartiṇai* and *a∴ṟiṇai*. I prefer the terms *rational* and *irrational*.

(2) Gaṇḍusara hēḷuva śabdavu pulliṅgavu. (*id.*)

(3) Heṅgusara hēḷuva śabdavu strīliṅgavu. (*id.*)

(4) Kaḍameya hēḷuvadu napuṁsakaliṅgavu. (*id*).

(5) Bahuvacanadalli puṁstrīliṅgagaḷige bhēdavilla, adakke dvibahuvacanavendu hesaru; napuṁsaka bahuvacanakke bēre bhēdavuṇṭu. (p. 37)

The same is also mentioned in the sūtras 91, 98 and 95 of the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* thus:—

Puruṣare pulliṅgam strī-
yare tāṁ strīliṅgamum-uḷiduvellam nappā
yire salgum. (s. 91)
Bare puṁstrīliṅgamum-amar-
dire saṁkhyāsarvanāma........
....mun-
d-aru-v-akkum. (s. 98)
Samanisügum-ā vibhaktiga-
ḷa modaloḷ-ādam gaḷāgamam. (s, 95)

2·163 Telugu uses the term *mahat* corresponding to *uyartiṇai* and *amahat* corresponding to *a∴riṇai*. Even though neuter nouns and verbs are generally used with reference to women, yet the expression 'vāru *iddaru* rukmiṇīsatyabhāmulu' shows that originally words denoting women should have been included under *mahat*.

2·164 *Malayalam,* A similar classification of words is found in Malayalam also, though there is slight difference. The rationa class and the irrational class are recognised in the *sūtra* 41 of the *Kēraḷapāṇinīyam*.

Nāmārthavastuvinuḷḷa
Puṁstrīklībaññaḷ liṅgamām |
Jaḍajantukkaḷum klībam
.... (s. 41)

The plural in the rational class is divided into two classes:—*aliṅga* and *saliṅga*, *aliṅga* denoting persons consisting of males and females and *saliṅga* denoting either males or females, and the plural in the irrational class stands as one. This is found in the *sūtra* 50;—

> Ar-enn-aliṅga puṁstrīkaḷ-
> kkavaykkē mār saliṅgamām |
> klībattil kaḷ.

The same is further explained in detail in p. 160. It may be seen from the forms of pronouns and finite-verbs in the four languages that in Dravidian languages *gender* and *number* generally go together and are denoted by *one* suffix.[1]

Hence it is not accurate to say, "substantives denoting male persons are masculine; substantives denoting females are feminine; all other substantives (denoting animals, their actions, qualities etc.) are neuter.'[2] It is safer to say that there are five genders,—masculine singular, feminine singular, epicene plural, neuter singular, and neuter plural.

2·2 *Noun morphology.*

2·21 *Classification.* For morphological purposes noun in the Primitive Dravidian may be classified into four:—(1) Concrete nouns or nouns denoting objects, (2) abstract nouns denoting quality, colour etc. (3) verbal nouns denoting action alone, and (4) participial nouns denoting both the action and the agent. Similarly pronouns may be classified into four:—(1) personal pronouns (2) demonstrative pronouns (3) interrogative pronouns and (4) numeral pronouns. To these four may be added indefinite pronouns meaning *some*, *many* etc., and collective pronouns meaning *all* etc. The gender and number of most of the concrete nouns is determined only from the meaning; the abstract nouns

1. *Cf.* Liṅgavacanaññaḷ ranṭum kuṟikkān pretyayam onnu (K. K. p. 171)
2. A Grammar of the Oldest Kanerese Inscriptions p. 111 and *Kannaḍa-kaippiḍi* p. 14.

and the verbal nouns are all neuter singular; the gender and number of the participial nouns are invariably determined from their endings since they are the same as those of the verbal endings. In the earliest stage the finite verb itself may have been taken as the nominal stem and case-suffixes were added to it. Such nouns are found in large numbers in the ancient Tamil works though they have undergone a little modification in later Tamil. In Kannaḍa, Telugu, and Malayalam we find participial nouns similar only to the latter type. The gender and number of all pronouns except the personal pronouns is determined only from the ending.

2·211 *Tamil.* Nouns are classified in Tamil into :—(1) nouns denoting objects (2) verbal nouns or *toḻiṟ-peyar* denoting action alone (3) abstract nouns or *paṇpu-p-peyar* denoting quality, colour etc. (4) participial nouns or *toḻiṟ-peyar* according to Tolkāppiyaṉār and *viṉaiyāl-aṇaiyum-peyar* according to later grammarians (5) personal pronouns (6) demonstrative pronouns (7) interrogative pronouns (8) numeral pronouns (9) indefinite pronouns (10) collective pronouns Tolkāppiyaṉār calls both nouns and pronouns only by the name of *peyar*, though the later grammarians call the pronouns into *cuṭṭu-p-peyar*, *viṉā-p-peyar* etc. Relative pronouns are not needed in Tamil. The sentences like '*yātu yātu pukai-y-uṭaiyatu atu atu neruppuṭaiyatu*' found in the *Maṇimēkalai* is in direct imitation of the *Sanskrit* sentence '*yaḥ yaḥ dhūmavān, saḥ saḥ vahnimān*.

Similarly is the Malayalam sentence

Evannu karmam utakkum
Avan tān svāmi yāyatu. (K. P. s. 79)

Of the four classes of nouns, *toḻiṟpeyar* and abstract nouns are neuter singular; the other two may be used in all *pāls*. But the *pāl* of the *viṉaiyāl-aṇaiyum-peyar* is determined from the ending since it is generally *in form* a finite verb, while that of the noun of the first class can be determined only by the meaning

and not by the termination.[1] The *pāl* of the last three kinds of pronouns is determined only by the ending.

> Ivai peyaroṭu varuvaḻi-t tiripiṉṟi-p pāl viḷakkāmaiyiṉ
> viṉaiyoṭu varum-eṉṟār. (*id.* Comm. Cēṉā.)

Hence is the need to deal with the endings denoting *pāl*.

Pāl endings.

N and *ḷ* respectively denote masculine singular and feminine singular [2] in all nouns invariably except in those of the first class, *toḻiṟpeyar* and abstract nouns.

(1) *Viz.—Concrete noun—Kaṇavaṉ* (husband—masc. sing.); *peṇ-makaṉ* (girl—fem. sing.); *alavaṉ* (crab—neut. sing.)

Makaḷ (daughter—fem. sing.); *makkaḷ* (mankind—epicene plural), *vāḷ* (dagger—neut. sing.)

(2) *Verbal noun. Tīrtal, varukai, eyyāmai,* etc.

(3) *Participial* noun. *Vantāṉai, koḷpavaṉai* (*ai* being the second case-suffix).

(4) *Abstract noun. Pacappu, cīrtti, vemmai, kaṟuppu* etc.

1. This is clearly expressed in Tolkāppiyam in the following *sūtra*:—

> Iru-tiṇai maruṅki ṉ-aimpā l-aṟiya
> Iṟṟiṉiṉ ṟ-icaikkum patiṉō r-eḻuttum
> Tōṟṟan tāmē *viṉaiyoṭu* varumē. (Tol. col. 10)

2. Dr. Caldwell says, "The masculine singular suffix of the Tamil is *an, ān,* or *ōn*" (C. D. G. p. 223). Tolkāppiyaṉār says that *ṉ* is the masculine singular suffix. *Cf. Na∴kā ṉoṟṟē y-āṭūu v-aṟicol.* (Tol. Col. 5). He also states with reference to verbs that *aṉ* and *āṉ* denote third person masculine singular suffix.
Cf. Aṉāṉ aḷā ḷ-eṉṉu nāṉkum
Oruvar maruṅkiṟ paṭarkkai-c collē. (Tol. col. 205).
Hence it is clear that *a* of *aṉ* is a demonstrative root and it was clearly recognised by Tolkāppiyaṉār. Similar is the case with respect to the feminine singular suffix.

(5) *Personal pronoun.* *Yāṉ, nāṉ* (I)[1]; *nī* (you)[2]; *yām, nām* (we); *nīyir, nīvir, nīr* (you).

(6) *Demonstrative pronoun.* *Avaṉ, avaḷ, avar.*

(7) *Interrogative pronoun.* *Yāvaṉ, evaṉ; yāvaḷ, evaḷ.*

(8) *Numeral pronoun.* *Oruvaṉ; orutti* (O. T.), *oruvaḷ* (N. T.)

(9) *Indefinite pronoun.* *Palar, cilar; pala, cila* etc.

(10) *Collective pronoun.* *Ellām, ellīrum, ellārum,* and *ellām.* Here it may be noted that the above four are stated to be the first person, the second person, the third person *palarpāl* and the third person *palaviṉpāl.*[3] Since the infixes *īr* and *ār* in

1. *Yāṉ* and *nāṉ* is *āṇpāl* if it denotes a male and *peṇpāl* if it denotes a female. Since the forms of the Sanskrit first person in different cases are sometimes masculine *Cf. asmān* and sometimes feminine *Cf, asmābhiḥ,* it is my surmise that *yāṉ,* the older form was originally masculine and since the same form was used by women also, it began to denote feminine singular also.
2. Since *nī* should have been originally *nīṉ* as is seen from the Kannaḍa form and the Tamil oblique base *niṉ,* it also has the same history as *yāṉ.*
3. *Cf.* *Ellāru m-eṉṉum paṭarkkai* y-iṟutiyum
   Ellīru m-eṉṉu muṉṉilai y-iṟutiyum
   .... (Tol. Eḻut. 192)

   Ellā m-eṉṉum peyarnilai-k kiḷavi
   Palvaḻi nutaliya nilaittā kummē (Tol. Col. 186)

   *Ellā m-*eṉṉu m-iṟuti muṉṉar
   .... (Tol. Eḻut. 190)

   Uyartiṇai y-āyi ṉammiṭai varumē (*ibid* 191)

   The first personal pronoun is stated by Tolkāppiyaṉār as *uyartiṇai* and the second personal pronoun both as *uyartiṇai* and *a∴ṟiṇai* or *viravuttiṇai* and the later grammarians consider the first personal pronoun too as *viravuttiṇai.* (Tol. Col. 162 & 188)

ellīrum and *ellārum* are respectively the same as the verbal terminations *īr* and *ār* in *ceṉṟīr* and *ceṉṟār*, it seems that *ām* of *ellām*, the first personal pronoun is the same as the verbal termination *ām* in *ceṉṟām*. If that be so, the cumulative particle *um* found at the end of *ellīrum* and *ellārum* should be taken to have been dropped here (*i. e.*) *ellāmum* has become *ellām* by haplology. *Ellām*, the third person *palaviṉpāl*, may similarly be taken to be the modified form of *ellavum* (*ella*, where *a* is the same as the verbal termination *a* in *ceṉṟaṉa*, + *um* the cumulative particle); the *vu* of *ellavum* has been dropped and by way of compensation the previous *a* was lengthened. This *ellām* which was of two different origins gradually ousted the forms *ellārum* and *ellīrum* in the post *Tolkāppiyaṉ* period.

Cf. Irappārai y-ellām (Kuṟaḷ 1067)

(11) *Reflexive pronoun*. *Tāṉ*, *tām*.

2·212. *Kannaḍa*. The same classification of nouns, for morphological purposes, holds good in *Kannaḍa* also.

(1) *Concrete noun*. (O. K.) *āḷ* (soldier—masculine singular); *magaḷ* (daughter—feminine singular); *makkaḷ* (children—epicene plural); *uḷ* (inner side—neuter singular)[1]

(2) *Verbal noun*. *Baruvike*, *neravu*, *nenepu* etc.

(3) *Participial noun*. *Nōḍidaḷ* *nōḍidar*, Kaḍukuruḍar *ādavaru* jaḍa-jīva-bhēdavanu bageyaralte. (K. M. S. 9)

Uḻiduvu ellam nappāgire. (Ś. M.91)

(4) *Abstract noun*. *Perme* (greatness), kaype (bitterness)

(5) *Personal pronoun*.

O. K.	*ān*	I	*ām*	We
M. K.	*nānu*		*nāvu*	
O. K.	*nīn*	Thou	*nīm*	You
M. K.	*nīnu*		*nīvu*	

1. It deserves to be noted that the gender and number of the words *āḷ*, *magaḷ*, *makkaḷ* and *uḷ* differ though all of them end in the letter *ḷ*.

(6) *Demonstrative pronoun.*

O. K. *avan, avaḷ, avar, adu, avu*

M. K. *avanu, avaḷu, avaru, adu, avu*

(7) *Interrogative pronoun.*

O. K. *āvaṁ, āvaḷ, āvudu*

M. K. *yāvanu, yāvaḷu, yāvadu*

(8) *Numeral pronoun.*

O. K. *orbaṁ, irbar*

M. K. *obbanu, ibbaru*

(9) *Indefinite pronoun.*

O. K. *palar, kelabar, pala, kela*

M. K. *halaru, kelavaru, hala, kela*

(10) *Collective pronoun.*

O. K. *ellarum, ellam, ella*

M. K. *ellaru, ellā, ellavu*

(11) *Reflexive pronoun.* *Tan, taṁ ; tāṁ, tāvu*

2·213 *Telugu :—*

The same classification of nouns may hold good in Telugu also.

(1) *Concrete noun.* *Taṁḍri* (father—masculine singular) *tāyi* (mother—feminine singular).

(2) *Verbal noun.* *Aṁarika, kōriki, nōvu, viḍugaḍa,*

(3) *Participial noun.* *Cēyunataḍu, cēyuvāru.*

(4) *Abstract noun.* *Kappu, peruṁguḍu.*

(5) *Personal pronoun.*

nēnu (I) *mēmu* (We)

nīvu (Thou) *mīru* (You)

(6) *Demonstrative pronoun.* *Vāṁḍu, vāru, adi, avi.*

(7) *Interrogative pronoun.* *E[illegible]aṁḍu, evaru, edi, evi.*

(8) *Numeral pronoun.* *[illegible]kaṁḍu*[1], *or[illegible]ṁḍu, iddaru* etc.

1. *Okaṁḍu* is used both as masculine and neuter.

(9) *Indefinite pronoun.* *Paluguru* [1], *kondaru, konni.*
(10) *Collective pronoun.* *Andaru, ellaru, anni, ella.*
(11) *Reflexive pronoun.* *Tānu, tāmu.*

2·214 *Malayalam* :—

The classification of nouns in Malayalam agrees with that in Tamil.

(1) *Concrete noun.* *Āḷ* person—(masculine singular and feminine singular) ; *makaḷ* (daughter—feminine singular) ; *makkaḷ* (children—epicene plural) ; *vāḷ* (sword—neuter, singular).
(2) *Verbal noun.* *Keṭutal, vīḻca, tāḻma* etc.
(3) *Participial noun.* *Pōyavane* [2].
(4) *Abstract noun.* *Peruma, āḻam, aḻakŭ* etc.
(5) *Personal pronoun.*
ñān (I), *nām* (We), *nī* (Thou), *niṅṅaḷ* (You).
(6) *Demonstrative pronoun.* *Avan, avaḷ, avar.*
(7) *Interrogative pronoun.* *Yāvan, evan, yāvaḷ, evaḷ.*
(8) *Numeral pronoun.* *Oruvan, orutti, oruvaḷ.*
(9) *Indefinite pronoun.* *Palar, cilar, pala, cila* [3].
(10) *Collective pronoun.* *Ellām, ellāvum, ellāvarum.*
(11) *Reflexive pronoun.* *Tān, tām.*

2·22 *Formation* :—

Nouns in Primitive Dravidian were formed by the addition ot case-suffixes to nominal stems, when sometimes inflexional increments are added between them. It seems it had no suffix to denote the nominative case. The same is the case with

1. It appears that *paluguru* itself be[illegible]gan to be used in the neuter gender also.
Cf. *Paluguru—amaha[illegible]vambuna dīniki vyastaprayōgambu lēdu.* (T. B. [illegible]. V p. 57)
2. R. C. 13[illegible]32; it is cognate with T[illegible]mil pōṉavaṉai.
3. [illegible] *Pala* and *cila* are neuter plural ; but expressions like *pala janaṅṅaḷ, cila āḷukaḷ* are also found. *Cf.* K. P. p. 169.

pronouns also. This is inferred from the name *peyar-vērrumai* given to the nominative case by Tolkāppiyaṉār[1] and also from the fact that no suffix was stated by him as belonging to the nominative case.[2] In Kannaḍa, the author of the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa*, though he has mentioned *m* as the sign of the nominative singular, mentions later on that, in the nominative singular, nominal bases terminating in *a* receive the *bindu*, but all others do not.[3] The bases, which end in *a* according to him may be taken to end in *m* or *n* as in Tamil.[4] His having mentioned *m* as the case suffix seems to be in direct imitation of *s* in Sanskrit. The later writers also have followed him in stating *m* as the nominative case-suffix.[5] But in Mod. Kannaḍa *u* is said to be the nominative case-suffix.[6] In Telugu *ḍu, mu, vu* and *lu* are said to be the nominative case-suffixes,[7] of which *ḍu, mu* and *vu* belong to the singular and *lu* to the plural. It is also stated that bases ending in *i* do not take any case-suffix. The examples given are *rāmuṁḍu, vanamu, dhēnuvu, rāmulu* and *hari*. If we compare them with the corresponding forms in Tamil-*rāmaṉ, vaṉam, tēnu, rāmarkaḷ* or *rāmarḥal* and *hari*, we can clearly see that the final *u* is the enunciative *u, ḍ*[8] and *v* in *rāmaṁḍu* and *dhēnuvu* are the consonantal glide developed between *ṁ* and *u* in the first case add *u* and *u* in the second case; and in *vanamu*, *m* belongs to the base and not to the case-suffix. The basis for

1. Tol. Col. 64.
2. Tol. Eḻut. 114.
3. S. M. 93 and 105.
4. *Cf.* Tamil maram, Kannaḍa mara (tree)
   kaṭaṉ / kaḍaṉ } kaḍa (debt)
5. Kannaḍa-kaippiḍi Vol. I. p, 15.
6. A Grammar of the Modern Canarese Language p. 36 (*u* prathame).
7. *Cf.* A. Ś. C. pp. 55 and 58 and Bālavyākaraṇamu pp. 34, 35 and 41.
8. *Cf.* Studies in Dravidian Philology by K. Ramakrishniah pp. 95–98.

such a statement on the part of the Telugu grammarians is that they took instances like *hari* which does not take any case-suffix after it in the masculine singular as exceptions rather than as general cases and they took *rāma*, *vana* and *dhēnu* as the stems in Telugu in imitation of Sanskrit. From this it is evident that *ḍu*, *mu* and *vu* are not nominative case-suffixes in the singular. *Lu* is the suffix corresponding to the Tamil *kaḷ*, kannaḍa, *gaḷ*, *gaḷu*, denoting the *plural number* alone; if it denoted the nominative case also, it should not have been used in the other cases. Hence it may be easily concluded that the nominative case has no suffix in Telugu also. In Malayalam grammarians have clearly recognised that the nominative case has no suffix.[1]

Hence the P. D. nominative case had no suffix. Dr. Caldwell has clearly stated the same view.[2]

Before dealing with the case suffixes and their origin, it is necessary to deal with the plural suffix in the Primitive Dravidian and the flexional increments used between nominal stems and case-suffixes.

2·221. *Plural suffix* :—

From a careful study of the history of the plural suffix in Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam, it may be safely inferred that *r* was the sign of the plural in rational nouns, demonstrative, nterrogative, numeral, indefinite and collective rational pronouns, *m* was that of personal pronouns, *kaḷ* was *optionally* the sign of the plural in irrational nouns and *ai* or *a* was that of the demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite irrational pronouns.

1. *Cf.* Pratyayam onnum illāta prathamaye (K. P. p. 180.)
2. C.D.G. p. 255. Such words as Tamil *puviyai*, Telugu *bhuvini* tell us that the *Sanskrit* loc. singular *bhuvi* was taken in Tamil and Telugu as the nominative case. Similarly the words Tamil *taṉavantaṉ*, Telugu *śrīmantuḍu* tell us that Sanskrit plural *dhanavantaḥ*, *śrīmantaḥ* were borrowed and the singular forms were evolved from Tamil *taṉavantar* and Telugu *śrimantulu*.

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NOUN

What is the history of the same in Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam ?

2·2211. *Tamil.* From the following words used in Tolkāppiyam-*māntar,*[1] *āyar, vēṭṭuvar, kiḻavar,*[2] *avar, yāvar,*[3] *iruvar, mūvar,*[4] *pallōr,*[5] *ellārum, ellīrum,*[6] *yām, nām,*[7] *num,*[8] *tām,*[9] *eḻuttu,*[10] *moḻikaḷ,*[11] *avai, yāvai,*[12] *palla, pala, cila,*[13] and the following sūtras

Ra ∴ kā ṉoṟṟum . . palar-aṟi collē (Tol. col. 7)
A . . pala-v-aṟi collē (*ibid* 9)
Kaḷḷoṭu civaṇu m-a-v-v-iyaṟ peyarē
Koḷ-vaḻi y-uṭaiya pala-v-aṟi coṟkē (*ibid* 169)

it is clear that *r* is used as the plural suffix in rational nouns, personal, interrogative, numeral, indefinite and collective rational pronouns, *m* in personal and reflexive pronouns, *kaḷ* is optionally used in irrational nouns,[14] *ai* in the demonstrative and interrogative irrational pronouns and *a* in indefinite irrational pronouns.

At the same time it must be understood that, with regard to plural nouns, *r* is not invariably the suffix. The plurality of nouns should be determined from the meaning. This is evident from the use of *makkaḷ* in Tol. Col. 163 and the use of the expression *Tōṟṟan tāmē viṉaiyoṭu varumē* in Tol. Col 10.

It should also be noted that the word *ellām* was used as the first person collective plural and the collective plural of irrational nouns.

1. Tol. Col. 163 (2) Tol. Poruḷ 23 (3) Tol. Col. 162 (4) *ibid* 44 (5) *ibid* 165 (6) *ibid* 164 (7) *ibid* 162 (8) *ibid* 143 (9) *ibid* 184 (10) Tol. Elut. 1 (11) *ibid* 197 (12) *ibid* 167 (13) *ibid* 168 (14) Even though Dr. Caldwell was not conversant with Tamil literature earlier than Tirukkuraḷ and with Tamil Grammar earlier than Naṉṉūl, still he had so much shrewdness as to say, 'It has already been noticed that *gaļ* is occasionally used in Tamil and Canarese as the plural suffix of rational nouns and pronouns . . Nevertheless I have no doubt that it was originally and essentially a suffix of the neuter plural. (C. D. G. p. 244.)

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Cf. Ellā m-eṉṉum peyar-nilai-k kiḷavi
Pal-vaḻi nutaliya nilaittā kummē. (Tol. Col. 186)
Taṉ-ṉ-u ḷ-uṟutta paṉmai-k k-allatu
Uyartiṇai maruṅki ṉ-ākka m-illai, (*ibid*. 187)

Besides it may be noted that the first personal pronoun was used only in connection with rational beings at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār, though it began to be used even in connection with irrational objects in later Tamil.[1] Similarly *ellām* began to be used in all persons irrespective of its denoting rational or irrational objects.[2]

Similarly in later Tamil the suffix *kaḷ* began to be used in rational nouns and pronouns after the suffix *r* or *m* as in *māntarkaḷ, avarkaḷ, iruvarkaḷ, yāṅkaḷ, nāṅkaḷ, nīyirkaḷ nīrkaḷ, nīṅkaḷ,*[3] *tāṅkaḷ* etc. or after the stem like *vacukkaḷ*. In the above cases *k* is sometimes pronounced as *g* or *h* in modern Tamil. It may be interesting to note how the suffix *kaḷ* which was *optionally* used as the plural suffix of *irrational nouns* gradually made its way into *rational nouns* and later on to both *rational* and *irrational verbs*.

Since the second personal pronoun was used even at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār to denote both rational beings and irrational objects,[4] the form *nīyirkaḷ, nīvirkaḷ, nīrkaḷ* might have been used when they were used as irrational pronouns. Then by confusion they might have been used as rational pronouns. Through analogy the suffix *kaḷ* might have been extended to the first personal pronoun, demonstrative pronoun etc. and lastly to concrete nouns so that we now have *yāṅkaḷ, nāṅkaḷ, avarkaḷ,*

1. *Cf.* *Yām nām*-eṉa varūm peyarum
Pāl-aṟi vanta v-*uyartiṇai-p peyarē*. (Tol. Col. 162)
1–2. *Taṉmai* nāṉku muṉṉilai y-aintum
Ellām. . . . . .potuppeyar. (Naṉ. 282)
3. *Cf.* Vīra. V. 9 and its comm.
4. *Cf.* *Nīyir* nī-y-eṉa varūuṅ kiḷavi
Pāṟeri p-ilave y-*uṭaṉmoḻi-p poruḷē*. (Tol. Col. 188)

iruvarkaḷ, maṉitarkaḷ etc. *Nīṅkaḷ* which came to Tamil through Kannaḍa *nīm* gradually ousted the earlier forms *nīyirkaḷ, nīvirkal* and *nīrkaḷ*. All these forms—*yāṅkaḷ* etc. are cases of double plurals similar to the words *children, kine* etc. in English.

Since the finite verbal forms were used as participial nouns, expressions like—*colmālai colluvārkaḷ vāḻvārē* (Periyatirumoḻi 7, 2, 10) came in vogue where the participial noun has the suffix *kaḷ* and the finite verb is bereft of it. Later on the form found in the participial plural noun began to be used by confusion in the finite verbs also. Consequently expressions like *vēntarkaḷ vantārkaḷ* came into existence. On their analogy forms like *uṇṭēṅkaḷ* (we ate) (C. C 1795) began to be used; but such forms as *uṇṭēṅkaḷ* have become obsolete in modern Tamil.

There is another pluralising particle *mār* which is found in such rational nouns *nāyaṉmār*, where it is added to the singular form *nāyaṉ*.[1]

2·2212. *Kannaḍa.* From the following words used in the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa, arasar, naṁdanar,*[2] *peṇḍir, tandevir, tāyvir,*[3] *avar,*[4] *yāvar, irbar, palar, palambar, ellavar,*[5] *ām, nīm, tām,*[6] *toḍegaḷ,*[7] *avu, ivu, uvu,*[8] *palavu,* and the sūtras 97, 98, 99 it is clear that *r* is used as the plural suffix in rational nouns, personal, interrogative, numeral, indefinite and collective rational pronouns, *m* in personal and reflexive pronouns, *gaḷ* in irrational nouns and *u* in demonstrative and indefinite irrational pronouns.

Since such expressions as

āne nuṅkiduvu

ānegaḷ nuṅkiduvu

are found, it is inferred that the particle *gaḷ* was only optionally used.

1. Tol. Col. 7.
2. Ś. M. p. 143 (3) *ibid* p. 142 (4) *ibid* p. 144 (5) *ibid* p. 145 (6) *ibid* p. 228 (7) *ibid* p. 138 (8) *ibid* p. 139.

Since the words *kavigaḷ*,[1] tāygaḷ, tandegaḷ, gōpargaḷ, avargaḷ [2] are also found, it is clear that *gaḷ* began to be suffixed to denote the plural even in rational nouns. In some cases it was added to the singular form and in others to plural forms.

In modern Kannaḍa since every word ends in a vowel, we find *ru* and *gaḷu* in place of *r* and *gaḷ*. Besides forms like *avugaḷu, yāvarugaḷu, avarugaḷu, kelavugaḷu, kelavarugaḷu ellarugaḷu, ellavugaḷu, eraḍugaḷu*[3] are found.

But forms corresponding to Tamil *yāṅkaḷ, nāṅkaḷ* and *nīṅkaḷ* are not found in Kannaḍa, where *kaḷ* is added to the plural personal pronouns.

Another point to be noted is that the first person plural pronouns *yām, ām*, and *nām* have become obsolete in modern Kannaḍa and *nāvu* has taken their place. *Nāvu* is evidently the metamorphosed form of *nām*. What is the need for the metamorphosis? In Kannaḍa the final *n* and the final *m* were represented by anusvāra in script, so that both *nān* and *nām* were written *nāṁ*. Confusion arose to determine whether *nāṁ* was singular or plural. Hence *nānu* was used as singular and *nāvu* was used as plural ; in the former case the *anusvāra* was replaced by the old *n* and in the latter case it was replaced by *v*. Similarly the second personal pronouns *nīn* and *nīm* which were written as *nīṁ* were replaced by *nīnu* and *nīvu* for the same reason. It is interesting to note that *nīvu* is second person plural, in Kannaḍa while it is second person singular in Telugu. The change of *m* to *v* in *nām-nāvu, nīm-nīvu* may be ascribed to careless pronunciation also ; the labal *m* is pronounced by bringing the two lips together; if, through carelessness, the upper row of teeth is brought into contact with the lower lip instead of the upper lip, *v* is produced. It should also be noted that *v* in Dravidian languages is only a semi-vowel and not a fricative as in modern English. The change

1. S. M. p. 49.
2. *ibid* p. 147.
3. A Grammar of the Modern Canarese Language pp. 37 to 50.

of *nāṁ* and *nīṁ* into *nānu* and *nāvu*, and *nīnu* and *nīvu* illustrates the important principle in language that change of form should be resorted to when there is room for confusion.

Similarly the reflexive pronouns *tān* and *tām* which were written as *tāṁ* have changed in modern Kannaḍa into *tānu* and *tāvu*.

2·2213. *Telugu* :—

From the following words in Telugu—*bāluru, nṛpāluru, vāru, evaru, ēru, iruguru, muguru, paluguru, ellaru, andaṟu, kondaṟu, ēmu, nēmu, mēmu, mimmunu* (accusative case), *tāmu, vanamu, vanamulu, avi, evi, palu, ella*—and the following sūtra of the *Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi*

Lāntāttu rurāu staḥ (3, 14)

(*Ru* and *ra* take the place of *lu* and *la* if the stem ends in *l*)

it is clear that *r* was the original plural suffix in rational nouns, personal, interrogative, numeral, indefinite and collective rational pronouns, the suffix *lu* was optionally used in irrational nouns, *i* in the demonstrative irrational pronouns and *u* and *a* in the indefinite and collective irrational pronouns.

In the later Telugu all rational nouns whose stem did not end in *l* and all irrational nouns began to add the suffix *lu* to form the plural. This *lu* is considered by Dr. Caldwell to have been softened from *galu*, the counterpart of Tamil *gaḷ* and Kannaḍa *gaḷu*.[1] But it seems to me that *lu* had two sources, one being *ru* and the other being *kalu*. It is a matter of common knowledge that *r* and *l* interchange in languages. Hence *lu* in rational plural nouns may be taken as the metamorphosed form of *ru*. On examining the following singular and plural forms of irrational nouns and comparing them with similar forms in Tamil, one may infer that *lu* of irrational nouns has come from *kalu* which corresponds to Tamil *kaḷ* through metanalysis (*i. e.*) *ka* of *kalu* has been mistaken to be a part of the stem and *lu* alone was considered to be the plural suffix.

1. C. D. G. p. 245.

Telugu			Tamil	
Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
aḍugu (foot)	*aḍugulu*	(M. T)	*aḍi*	*aḍigaḷ*
eluka (rat)	*elukalu*[1]	,,	*eli*	*eligaḷ*
īga (fly)	*īgalu*	,,	*ī*	*īkkaḷ*
ōḍika (stream)	*ōḍikalu*	,,	*ōḍai*	*ōḍaihaḷ*
maḍuṁgu (deep water)	*maḍuṁgulu*	,,	*maḍu*	*maḍukkaḷ*
molaka (sprout)	*molakalu*	,,	*muḷai*	*muḷaihaḷ*
tirika (twist)	*tirikalu*	,,	*tiri*	*tirihaḷ*
ciluka (parrot)	*cilukalu*	,,	*kiḷi*	*kiḷihaḷ*
taḍika (screen)	*taḍikaḷu*	,,	*taṭṭi*	*taṭṭihaḷ*

In later Telugu double plurals like *mīralu, īralu, vāralu, ēvāralu* came into existence where *lu* is evidently the part of *kalu.* Though *mīralu, īralu* correspond to Tamil *nīyirkaḷ,* yet Telugu has not developed any form corresponding to Tamil *nāṅkaḷ.*

The forms of personal pronouns are a source of interest to us. They are *nēnu* and *ēnu* in the first person singular, *mēmu, nēmu, ēmu, manamu* in the first person plural, *nīvu* and *īvu* in the second person singular and *mīru, īru, mīralu* and *īralu* in the second person plural. If we compare *nēnu* and *ēnu* with *yāṉ,* the ancient Tamil form[2] and *nāṉ,* the later Tamil form, in the nominative case and the stem *eṉ* in the oblique cases, it makes one think that *ēnu* is the earlier form formed by lengthening the vowel *e* of the oblique base *eṉ* which corresponds to the form *yāṉ.*[3] Then *nēnu,* should have come to existence by the

1. This idea was suggested to me by Sri T. Appanna B.A., B.O.L. the Telugu Pandit of the Annamalai University from the example *eluka—elukalu.* Tho other examples were collected by me.
2. *Cf.* Tol Col. 162.
3. It may be noted that there is no oblique base in Tamil corresponding to *nāṉ.* It is also quite possible that the nominative case forms of personal pronouns came later than those of the oblique case stems.

addition of *n* at the beginning in analogy with *n* of Tamil *nāṉ*. Hence it seems that it is historically wrong to say that *ēnu* is the abbreviated form of *nēnu*. Similarly *ēmu* which agrees with the Tamil oblique base *em* should have been the earliest form and *nēmu* may have sprung through analogy with Tamil *nām* and *mēmu* may have been the metamorphosed form of *nēmu* through the harmonising influence of *m* of *mu*. The form *manamu* may have been the product of the blending of the two forms *mēmu* and *nēmu* and of the influence of *ā* in *Tamil nām*. Since Tolkāppiyaṉār has not stated two different forms,, one to denote the person speaking and the person spoken to alone and the other to denote the person speaking, the person spoken to and the person spoken of, the form *manamu* which means *you and I* may have been of later origin.

With respect to *nīvu* and *īvu*, since the oblique base is *nin* as is seen in *ninnanu*, it seems that the form *nīvu* is earlier than *īvu* and the latter is the abbreviated form of the former. As regards *mīru, mīralu* and *īru* and *īralu*, the *m* of the former two is in analogy with *m* of *mīmu* and the latter two are the abbreviated forms of the former two; *mīralu* and *īralu* are cases of double plural. The *r* of *mīru, mīralu, īru, īralu* is in agreement with the *r* of *Tamil nīyir, nīvir* and *nīr* and the second *m* of the oblique base *mim* of the accusative case *mimmunu* is in agreement with *m* of the *Tamil* oblique base *num* found in *nummai* etc. The presence of *r* in the nominative case and *m* in the oblique cases gives room to think that the plural forms *nīyir* etc. in Tamil and *mīru* etc. in Telugu may have been formed not from the respective oblique base, but after the pattern of the respective form in the nominative singular.

2·2214. *Malayalam.* From the following words found in the Rāmacaritam—*vānavar*,[1] *ceṟiyavar*,[2] *aracarkaḷ*,[3] *mantirikaḷ*,[4] *avar, avarkaḷ*,[5] *ār*,[6] *palar*,[7] *ellārum*,[8] *nām*,[9] *ñāṅṅaḷ*,[10] *nimmil*,[11]

1. R. C. 41 (2) *ibid* 2 (3) *ibid* 13 (4) *ibid* 42 (5) *ibid* 43 & 103 (6) *ibid* 14 (7) *ibid* 49 (8) *ibid* 26 (9) *ibid* 42 (10) *ibid* 34 (11) *ibid* 32. *nim* is the oblique case stem.

niṅṅaḷ,[1] *pūvu*,[2] *mātaṅṅaḷ*,[3] *ava*, *pala*[4] — it is clear that *r* is used as the plural suffix in rational nouns and rational demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite and collective pronouns, *m* in personal pronouns, *kaḷ* is optionally used in irrational nouns, *a* in irrational indefinite pronouns etc., and *kaḷ* is also used as the pluralising particle of rational nouns like *mantirikaḷ* and it is also used after *r* in rational nouns like *aracarkaḷ* and after *m* in personal pronouns.

Mār also is used as the pluralising particle of rational nouns *Cf.* *mantirimār*[5]. Expressions like *nallavar ellām*[5] and *caritam ellām*[6] show that *ellām* began to be used with reference to both rational beings and irrational objects.

It should also be noted that in *nim+kaḷ*, *m* is changed to guttural *ṅ* by regressive assimilation and later on *k* is changed to *ṅ* by progressive assimilation. Similar is the case with *ñāṅṅaḷ*, *mātaṅṅaḷ* etc.

Nammaḷ is said to denote 'he, you and I'.[7] It seems that this is later formation. Sometimes *r* of words like *aracarkal* was dropped[8]. *Ñāṅṅaḷ* is used in the form *ñaṅṅaḷ* also.[8]

2·222 *Origin of case suffixes* :—

Dr. Caldwell observes, "All case-relations are expressed by means of post-positions or post-positional suffixes. *Most* of the post-positions are, in reality, *separate words*; and in all the Dravidian dialects the post-positions retain traces of their original character as auxiliary nouns. Several case-signs, especially in the more cultivated dialects, have lost the faculty of separate existence, and can only be treated now as case-terminations; but there is no reason to doubt that they were all post-positional nouns originally."[9]

1. R. C. 33, (2) *ibid* 38, It is plural here (3) *ibid.* 10, (4) *ibid* 40, (5) *ibid* 41, (6) K. P. p. 166.
7. R. C. p. 163, (8) *id.*
9. C. D. G. p. 253.

Otto Jespersen observes with respect to the Indo-European languages, "Were all our derivative affixes and flexional endings originally independent words before they were glued to or fused with the main word? This has been the prevalent, one might almost say the orthodox, view of all the leading linguists who may be mustered in formidable array in defence of the agglutination theory. The answer certainly must be in the affirmative—with regard to *some* endings. Nothing can be proved with regard to the ultimate genesis of flexion in general from the adduced examples, for in all of them the elements were already fully flexional before the coalescence. What they show, then, is really nothing but the growth of new flexional formations on an old flexional soil. As a matter of fact, flexional endings have arisen in a way that is totally opposed to the agglutinative, which then must renounce all claims to be the *only* possible way for a language to arrive at flexional formatives".[1] He then says that the majority of flexional endings should have originated this way:—they should have been parts of words without having any meaning of case; then they should have been transferred from one word to another where they had originally no business. By a regular series of such transference they have gradually acquired a more or less independent signification or function of their own.

Earlier philologists like Whitney and Schleicher had the view that 'each suffix had its distinct meaning and office' and 'all irregularities were the result of later decay in each language separately'. Research in the last fifty years demonstrates that there should have been *several forms* for the same case instead of *one* form assumed by the earlier philologists and the signification of the grammatical forms must originally have been vague and fluctuating instead of settled and definite. This is substantiated by Tol. Col. 110 which states the different meanings in which the Tamil suffix *ku* was used.

1. Language—Its nature, development and origin pp. 377-379, and A Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Language Vol. III Part II pp. 60-63.

Cf. Yāṉaikku-k kōṭu kūritu
(The tusk of the elephant is sharp)
Ivaṭku-k koḷḷum i-v-v-aṇi
(This ornament will suit her)
Avaṟku-c ceyya-t takum i-k-kāriyam
(This act deserves to be done by him)
Cāttaṟku neṭiyaṉ
(He is taller than Cāttaṉ)
Kālaikku avaṉ varum
(He comes in the morning)
Maṉai-vāḻkkaikku-p paṟṟu-viṭṭāṉ
(He extricated himself from the attachment of a house holder)
Ūrkku-t tīrntāṉ
(He removed himself from the village)

As regards the case-suffixes of the Dravidian languages there are some which were used in the earliest period of the separate languages whose origin is not definitely known. The suffixes mentioned in *Tolkāppiyam* are *ai, oṭu ku, iṉ, atu, kaṇ* [1] and also *āṉ* [2]. The author states that the first six respectively belong to cases from the second to the seventh, but does not mention to which case *āṉ* belongs. But in most of the *sūtras* wherein he has made use of it, it has the seventh-case meaning.[3]

2·2221. Of them *kaṇ* was used in ancient classics as a noun denoting place.[4] It might have been used in the sense of the general meaning of place along with another word denoting a particular place in compound words like *vāṉ-kaṇ* (literally meaning *sky-place*.) Since words denoting place and time are generally used in many languages as adverbial accusatives of place and time without any case-suffix, the word *kaṇ* which was originally a noun meaning *place* might have been considered the seventh case-suffix. Similarly in the course of the development of the Tamil language the words *kāl, aham, puṟam, uḷ, uḻai, kīḻ, mēl* etc.

1. Tol. Eḻut. 114 (2) Tol. Col. 108 (3) *ibid* 105, 111 etc. (4) *ibid* 82; vāṉ-kaṇ-aṟṟū avaṉ-malaiyē (Puṟa. 109)

have been considered as case-suffixes[1]. Hence Dr. Caldwell's statement that case-suffixes were originally post-positional *nouns* is correct with respect to the seventh case-suffixes *kaṇ, kāl,* etc. in Tamil.

2·2222. As regards *atu*, the sixth case-suffix according to *Tolkāppiyaṉār* and *a* also according to Naṉṉūlār, it seems to me that they are the endings of the participial nouns used in apposition with other nouns ;—

Cf. *Kāṭṭatu yāṉai*
Yāṉaiya kōṭukaḷ

Here *kāṭṭatu* and *yāṉaiya* may be taken to be the *kuṟippu-viṉaiyāl-aṇaiyumpeyar* (participial nouns with nominal stems), respectively qualifying the singular noun *yaṉai* and the plural noun *kōṭukaḷ*. Since there is not much difference in the meaning between *forest-elephant* and *forest's elephant, atu* gradually acquired the position of a case suffix even before the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār. Then even plural nouns began to be qualified by the word with the ending *atu*.

Cf. *Niṉatu iru-tiru-v-aṭi* (your two feet) (Cilap. 24 p. 518 2nd Edn.)
Iraivaṉatu aṭiyiṇai (God's two feet) (Tēvāram 127, 5.)
Uṉatu aṭiyār maṉattāyō (Are you of the minds of your devotees) Periya-tirumoḻi 150, .7.)

But later on *a* was considered to be the case-suffix, if the word to be qualified is an irrational plural noun. Hence *atu* and its lengthened form *ātu* and *a* were originally the endings found in singular and plural participial irrational nouns, which are the same as the endings of the irrational finite verbs in singular, and in plural, number.

The suffix *a* and its lengthened form *ā* were generalised in Kannaḍa, though *atu* remains in the pronominal forms *enatu,*

1. Tol, Col. 82 *Nac.*

emalu, nanalu, ninalu, nimatu tanatu, tamatu etc. *Atu* remains in the form of *adu* in Telugu *tanadu* and *tamadu* and in the form of *du* in *nīdu, mīdu, nādu, and mādu.*

2·2223. As regards the others—*ai, oṭu, ku, iṉ* and *āṉ*, I am not able to trace their origin. *Ai* sometimes drops its final element in poetry.[1]

Cf. Kāvalōna-k kaḷirù añcum-m-ē
(The elephant fears the driver).

Corresponding to *ai* we find in O.K. *am*, in M.K. *a, annu*, in Telugu *ni* or *nu* and in Malayalam *ai*,[2] and *e*; The Malayalam in the later period seems to have discarded *ai*,[3] Since *ai, e* and *i* have the palatal element in them, it is possible that, through economy of effort, *ai* may have changed to *e* and *i*. *I* of *ni* in Telugu seems to me to be the original case-suffix. If one compares the Telugu *dānini* with Tamil *adaṉiṉai* and the following sets of words in Tamil and Telugu,

Tamil	*Telugu*
nērm*ai*	nērim*i*
kōrikk*ai*	kōrik*i*
maṉ*ai*	ma*n*iki
naṭatt*ai*	naḍit*i*
av*ai*	av*i*
iv*ai*	iv*i*

it is possible to infer that corresponding to the final *ai* in Tamil words, Telugu has *i*, and consequently that Telugu *dānini* corresponds to Tamil *adaṉiṉai* and is formed thus–*adi + an + in + i*, where *an* and *in* are flexional increments as *aṉ* and *iṉ* are in the Tamil word *adaṉiṉai* (*adu + aṉ + iṉ + ai*). Similarly *kālini* which

1. Tol. Col. 108
2. *Cf.* aruvayar-maṇiyai-k kaṇṭēn (R. C. 22.)
3. The author of the Kēraḷa-pāṇinīyam mentions only *e* (K. P. p. 189).

corresponds to Tamil *kāliṉai* (*kāl+iṉ+ai*) may be taken to have been formed thus:—*kālu+in+i*. Then it is clear that through metanalysis *n* of the flexional increment *in* has been tacked on to the case-suffix *i*, so that, at the present day, *ni* is considered to be the case-suffix instead of *i*, in the same way as the English word *newt* is now considered to be the correct word even though its initial *n* is a part of the article *an*; and *ni* changed to *nu* by the harmonic sequence of vowels.

The O. K. *am* seems to me to be the flexional increment *an*.[1] It is a patent fact that confusion arose in Kannaḍa with respect to the final *m* and *n* since both of them were represented by anusvāra.[2] Besides it is the genius of the Dravidian languages to omit the case-suffixes and use the bare stem making the reader understand the case-relation from context.[3] The second and the seventh case-suffixes may be dropped even when the words having them follow the verbs they qualify.[4] Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi and Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa also state that the bare stem was used in the second case.[5] The flexional increments persist even after the case-suffixes are dropped. Hence the increment *am*, the metamorphosed form of *an* was mistaken to be the case-suffix. The *a* which is found in *avana*, *yāvana*, *kariyana* seems to me to be the former part of the Tamil *ai*, though modern grammarians consider it to be the curtailed form of *am*. The same *a* is found in *nanna* with the final of *nan* being doubled[6]. *Annu* found in *M. K.*

1. Dr. A. N. Narasimhia states in his Grammar (p. 135) that ān, an, am. aṁ and ā and a are the accusative case-suffixes. The last two are formed by dropping the final element and *ān* is formed by lengthening *an*.
2. *Cf*. Ś. M. D. 161.
3. *Cf*. Urupu toka varutalum (Tol. Col. 104)
4. Aiyuṅ kaṇṇu m-allā-p poruḷ-vayiṉ
   Meyyurupu tokāa v-iṟuti y-āṉa. (Tol. Col. 105)
5. Nir-amō mahatām; luk ca syāt (A. Ś. c. 3, 15 and 16)
   Prathameyum dvitīyeyoḷ akkum. (Ś. M. D. 136)
6. Dr. Caldwell says, '*A* seems to have been converted t *na*' (C. D. G. p. 272); it is better to take that t final *n* of *nan* is doubled.

maganannu, *avanannu* etc. is formed by adding *u* to *am*, when *am* assumes its original form *an* and *n* is doubled.

2·2224. *Oṭu*. Since *oṭu* (now pronounced as *oḍu*) and its lengthened form *ōṭu* are now used in Tamil in the sense of association and they are used in the same sense in the early works like Rāmacaritam, and Telugu *tō-ḍu* appears to resemble *ōḍu* in Malayalam, Dr. Caldwell has stated them to be conjunctive case-signs and has found fault with the Tamil grammarians for having stated *āṉ*, *āl* and *oṭu* as the suffixes of the third case in imitation of Sanskrit and has accused them that they have done violence to the genius of Tamil grammar.[1] But *Tolkāppiyaṉār* has clearly stated that *oṭu* denoted agent, instrument, association, assumed similarity etc.[2] and we have instances from the Puṟanāṉūṟū where *oṭu* is used in those senses :—

Aivaroṭu ciṉaii[3]

Iṟaim patiṉmarum porutu-kaḷat toḻiya (Puṟa. 2) (agent) (so that all the hundred may fight and die in the battle field being treated with disdain by the five)

Nīroṭu niṟainta .. kaṇ (Puṟa. 164)

(eyes filled with tears) (agent)

Pal-yānaiyum *ampoṭu* tuḷaṅki (Puṟa. 63) (instrument)

(Having perturbed many elephants with arrows).

Nirayaṅ *koḷpavaroṭu* oṉṟātū (Puṟa 5) (association)

(Not being associated with those who would go to hell)

2·2225. *Āṉ*. Though it was not stated as the third case-suffix, it is found used in Sangam classics in all the senses in which *oṭu* was used.

1. *Ibid* pp. 277, 278.
2. Tol. Col. 73 & 74.
3. This is a case of hiatus ; here *ciṉai* is the root and *i* is the sign of the indeclinable past participle and *ciṉaii* is active in form and passive in meaning.

Tīyiṉāṟ cuṭṭa puṇ uḷḷāṟum (Kuṟaḷ 129)
(Burns through fire will heal) (agent)
Tōṭṭiyāṉ muṉpu turantu (Puṟa. 14)
Having made (it) to go before through good (instrument)
Tūṅku-kaiyāṉ ōṅku-nəṭaiya (Puṟa. 22) (association)
(Having majestic gait with waving trunk)

Hence the later grammarians have stated *āṉ* and *oṭu* as the suffixes of the same case. Even Naṉṉūlār has not stated that *oṭu* denotes only association; it is only his commentators have said so. In course of time *ōṭu* also was recognised as a suffix, though originally *o* of *oṭu* was lengthened for metrical purposes. Similarly *āṉ* later on metamorphosed into *āl*, so that *āl* has almost displaced *āṉ*. It was due to the wrong splitting of sandhi in expressions like *tīyiṉāṟ cuṭṭa* (Kuṟaḷ 129); instead of splitting it into *tīyināṉ cuṭṭa*, one should have split it into *tīyiṉāl cuṭṭa* and should have made use of *āl*. In later Tamil *āl* is used to denote agent and instrument and *oḍu* and *ōḍu* to denote association. The same use of *āl* and *oṭu* and *ōṭu* is found in Malayalam [1]. *Āṉ* or *āl* [2] is not found in Kannaḍa or Telugu.

2·2226. *Ku* is stated to be the *fourth* case-suffix in Tolkāppiyam and Kēraḷapāṇinīyam. Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa mentions *ke, kke* or *ge*. Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi mentions *ku* or *ki* as the *sixth* case-suffix. Tamil *ku* and Malayalam *ku* are used not only as the fourth case-suffix, but also to denote the sixth case-suffix meaning–relation–in expressions like, *Pāṭiṉikku- + ..pāṉmakaṉ* (Puṟa 11),[3] *ilaṅkaykku* aracan (R. C. 69); it seems that Telugu

1. Ennāl (R. C. 69); avanōṭu (*ibid.* 87.)
2. Dr. Caldwell observes, "This suffix *āl* may possibly be derived from or allied to *kāl*, Tamil a channel." It is due to his theory that case-terminations were all originally post-positional nouns. Since *āl* has its source in *āṉ*, I do not agree with Dr. Caldwell here.
3. *Cf.* Atu-v-eṉ vēṟṟumai y-uyartiṉai-i tokai-vayiṉ
Atu-v-e-ṉ urupu-keṭa-k kukaram varumē, (Tol. Col. 99)

uses *ku* or *ki* in the latter sense alone and hence the Telugu grammarians have stated them as the sixth case-suffixes; *ku* changes to *ki* by the harmonic sequence of vowels. In Malayalam *ku* after the flexional increment *in* changes to *nu*, *k* being assimilated to the preceding *n*. Kannaḍa *ke* is formed by the addition of the particle *e* to *ku*; *k* of *ku* changes to *g* in the vocalic company or after voiced consonants and it is sometimes doubled after short vowels. *Cf.* *Arasange*, *banakke*, *polake* etc.

The origin of *ku* suggested by Dr. Caldwell is very fanciful.[1]

2·2227. *Iṉ* is said to be the fifth case-suffix in Tolkāppiyam.[2] It denoted comparison, limit, cause and separation.[3] It did not metamorphose into *il* to such a large extent as *āṉ* metamorphosed into *āl*. Still *il* is used in colloquial speech. *Iṉ* is also stated among the flexional increments[4] and it is one of those which are frequently used in literature; whenever it is used, the locative case-suffix *kaṇ* and the genitive case-suffix *atu* were generally dropped; and in the former case, it generally metamorphosed into *il*. This made Dr. Caldwell think that *iṉ* had its source in *il* which was originally a locative and genitive case-suffix. He went still further and observed, "Native Tamil grammarians appear to hold that *il*, the ordinary suffix of the ablative and *il*, the most largely used sign of the locative in the colloquial dialect, though written and pronounced alike, are different particles with different significations. I am persuaded, however, that this view is erroneous; and that a natural system of case-classification would determine that the Dravidian languages have no ablative, properly so called, but only a variety of locative and instrumental suffixes, which are capable of becoming ablatives by the addition of appropriate verbs."[5] He has also observed, "*Iṉ* is an inflexional increment and was probably a case-sign of the locative originally. The use of *in* as

1. C. D. G. p. 283.
2–3. Tol. Col. 77.
4. Tol. Eḻut. 120.
5. C. D. G. p. 284.

an inflexional increment effects no alteration in the meaning of the case-sign which is suffixed to it. Where it is not followed by a case-sign, it is generally found to be used as a mode of expressing the genitive; but where a case-sign follows, it is merely euphonic and its use is optional"[1]. He would have greatly modified his statements had he been intimately acquainted with Tolkāppiyam and Sangam classics. I am not able to trace the source of *iṉ* This *iṉ* which was written *iṁ* in Kannaḍa became metamorphosed to *im.*[2] Since the fifth case denoted cause, as also the third case, *im* might have been first used in all places where cause had to be denoted. Since the meanings of agent and instrument may be brought under cause, the same suffix might have been used to denote agent, instrument and cause and consequently might have displaced the original third case-suffix in course of time and would have been considered as the third case-suffix. This is a case of *syncretism*. Consequently it gave room for grammarians to say that there is no ablative case in Kannaḍa.[3] This *im* of old Kannaḍa became *inda* in M. K. What should have been the reason for such a change? In *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* I find the words *arthade,*[4] *kramade*[5] etc. used in the ablative sense. They are the *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit *arthataḥ, kramataḥ* etc. and *de* is formed by adding *e* to *da*. In course of time *da* began to be used after the flexional increment *in,*[6] so that *inda* was considered the third case-suffix.

Since *am* is added at the end of words in many languages, it may have been added to *inda* so that *indam* also became a third case-

1. C, D. G. p. 261.
2. Dr. A. N. Narasimhia notes in his Grammar (p. 139) that *im, iṁ, in, inda,* and *indu* are the instrumental case-suffixes.
3. Kanarese Grammar by Harold Spenser p. 20.
4. Ś. M. D. preface 10.
5. *ibid,* 10.
6. *ibid* 108.

suffix.[1] This *iṉ* does not find a place in Telugu and in Malayalam[2] as the fifth case-suffix even in modified form.

2·2228 *Il* is the seventh case-suffix used in colloquial Tamil. What is its origin? It may be the same as the word *il* which means *house* or it may be the metamorphosed form of the flexional increment *iṉ* used before the seventh case-suffix *kaṇ* and standing even after the case-suffix was dropped. If it is the latter, it stands on a par with the Kannaḍa second and third case-suffixes *am* and *im*. It became the seventh case-suffix in Malayalam. *Cf. pōril* (R. C. 44)

2·2229. Having dealt with the case-suffixes mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṉār, and their counterpart in Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam, I should take into consideration of the words in the different languages which have been reduced to the status of suffixes. They are *koṇṭu, uṭaṉ, poruṭṭu, niṉṟu, kāṭṭilum, pārkkilum, uṭaiya, iṭam, iṭai, kāl* etc. in Tamil, *attaṇim, attaṇindam, attaṇinde, deseyinda, oḷ, alli* in Kannaḍa, *cēta, tōḍa, koṟaku, kayi, valana, kaṇṭe, paṭṭi, yokka, lōpala,* and *andu* in Telugu, *koṇṭu, ninnu, kāṭṭil* and its modified form *kāḷ, pōkke, uṭaya, uṭe, kāl* and its modified form *kal* in Malayalam.

2·22291. *Tamil suffixes:—*

2·222911. *Koṇṭu* (M. T. *koṇḍu*) was originally an indeclinable past participle of the root *koḷ* (meaning 'to take hold of'); it was qualified by a noun in the second case with the suffix dropped *viz.*

Oru-*kaṇai koṇṭu* mū-v-eyil uṭaṟṟi (Puṟa 55)
(Having broken three forts with one arrow)
Poḻintanar *pūvu koṇṭē* (R. C. 38)
(Showered with flowers)

1. Ś. M. D. 107; *Cf.* A particle *em, om, m* was attracted to certain fully formed cases *e. g.* Sanskrit *aśavāyām, vṛkā-bhyām, aham, vayam, mām* etc. (Language by Otto Jespersen pp. 384–5)
2. Saṁskṛtattilē pañcamikku śariyāyi bhāṣayil oru vibhaktiye illa (K. P. p. 181)

In the former case *kaṇai* may be taken as the object of *koṇṭu* and in the latter case *pūvu* may be taken as that of *koṇṭē*. Eventually both in Tamil and Malayalam the expressions like *kaṇai-koṇṭù* and *pūvu-koṇṭù* were considered as one word, *kaṇai* and *pūvu* being considered as stem and *koṇṭù* as the suffix. Hence *koṇṭu* which was originally an indeclinable past participle of the root *koḷ*—became a third case-suffix denoting instrument. It was changed even to *koṭu* for metrical purposes in Malayalam.

Cf. Caraṇa-tāraka kuruttu *koṭu*. (R. C. 4)

2·222912. *Uṭaṉ*. (M. T. *uḍan*; *colloq oḍaṉ*) Dr. Caldwel states, '*Uḍan* is still used poetically as a noun signifying conjunction' and conjectures that it is derived from the root *oḍ*. Considering the verbal noun *uṭaimai* signifying possession and the verbal forms *uṭaiyatù*, *uṭaiya* in the sense of possesses, possess, it seems to me that *uṭaṉ* is a noun derived from the root *uṭai* meaning 'to possess' and is similar in form to the word *kaṭaṉ* which is derived from the root *kaṭa* meaning 'to pass'. Originally *uṭaṉ* should have meant 'company' as Kannaḍa *oḍaṁ*. The sentence *avaṉuṭaṉ ivaṉ vantāṉ*, originally should have meant 'this man came in his company'; hence *avaṉuṭaṉ* should have been a compound word in the seventh case with the case-suffix being dropped. Since there is not much difference between 'this man came with him' and 'this man came in his company', *avaṉuṭaṉ* might have been considered a simple word with *avaṉ* as the stem and *uṭaṉ* as the case-suffix.

2·222913. *Poruṭṭù* is the third person singular of the finite appellative verb whose root is the noun *poruḷ*. The sentence *Nakutaṟporuṭṭu aṉṟu naṭṭal* (Kuṟaḷ 784) strictly means 'friendship has not for its object cutting jokes'; hence it may be explained thus:—*naṭṭal nakutalai-p-poruṭṭu āka uṭaiyatu aṉṟù*. Since there is not much difference between 'friendship has not for its object cutting jokes' and 'friendship is not for cutting jokes', the two words *nakutal* and *poruṭṭù* are taken as one word with *nakutal* as stem and *poruttù* as the fourth case-suffix.

2·222914. *Niṉṟù* is the indeclinable past participle of the root *nil*. The sentence '*vāṉiṉṟu ulakam vaḻaṅki varutalāṉ*'

(Kuṟaḷ 11) literally means 'as, rain appearing, the world exists.' Here *niṉṟu* is taken as an infinite verb having for its subject *vāṉ* by *Parimēlaḻagar*, a famous commentator on Tirukkuṟaḷ; *vāṉiṉṟu* is taken to be one word in the fifth case by some others meaning 'on account of rain.' Hence the phrase *vāṉ niṉṟu* became one word with *vāṉ* for the stem and *niṉṟu* for the suffix. The same is the history of *ninnu* in Malayalam.

2·222915. *Kāṭṭilum* is the metamorphosed form of *kāṭṭiṉum* which is an infinitive formation of *kāṭṭu*, the causal stem of the root *kāṇ*. The sentence *itaṉ kāṭṭilum atu periyatu* literally meant 'compared with this it is great'; hence *itaṉ* was in the second case with the case-suffix being dropped forming the object of *kāṭṭilum*. Since there is not much difference between 'compared with this it is great' and 'it is greater than this,' *itaṉ—kāṭṭilum* is now taken as one word where *itu* is the stem, *aṉ*, the flexional increment and *kāṭṭilum*, the fifth case-suffix denoting comparison. The same is the history of *kaṭṭil* in Malayalam.

2·222916. *Pārkkilum* is an infinitive formation of the root *pār*. It has the same history as *kāṭṭilum*.

2·222917. *Uṭaiya* is a *kuṟippu-viṉai-p-peyareccam.*[1] The sentence 'avaṉ uṭaiya kaṇkaḷ nallaṉa' literally means 'he-possessing-eyes are good' (*i. e.,*) the eyes which he possesses are good. Since there is not much difference between 'the eyes which he possesses' and 'his eyes,' the two words *avaṉ* and *uṭaiya* are now considered as one word, having *avaṉ* for its stem and *uṭaiya* for the sixth case-suffix. This *uṭaiya* has changed to *uṭaya, uṭe* and *ṭe* in Malayalam.[2]

1. *Cf.* Tām uṭaiya neñcam tuṇaiyalvaḻi (Kuṟaḷ 1299)
2. *Cf.* *uṭaya, uṭe, ṭe, uṭama, uṭaya* ityādi-rūpaṅṅaḷil kāṇunna svāmivācikamāya *uṭa* enna kṛtiyuṭe pēreccarūpam tanne āṇitu. 'avanuṭaiya paṭajjanam ca ghōram' ityādikaḷileppōle kavikaḷ ī rūpatte svatantrapadam āyum prayōgikkār uṇṭu. (K. P. p. 190.)

2·222918. *Iṭam, iṭai, kāl etc.* Many nouns denoting place and time are now considered as the seventh case-suffixes. For instance in the sentence '*ūriṭam iruntāṉ*' ūriṭam was a compound noun (ūr ākiya iṭam) in the seventh case with the case-suffix being dropped. Later on *ūriṭam* was taken to be a simple noun in the seventh case with *ūr* for its stem and *iṭam* for its suffix. Such words are given in one sūtra of Tolkāppiyaṉār and in one sūtra by Naṉṉūlār—

Cf. Kaṇ-kāl puṟam-aka m-uḷ-ḷ-uḻai kīḻ-mēl
Piṉ-cā r-ayal-puṭai tēvakai y-eṉāa
Muṉ-ṉ-iṭai kaṭai-talai valam-iṭa m-eṉāa
Aṉṉa piṟavu m-ataṉ-pāla v-eṉmaṉār [1] (Tol. Col. 82.)

Kaṇ-kāl kaṭai-y-iṭai talai-vāy ticai-vayiṉ
Muṉ-cār valam-iṭa mēl-kīḻ puṭai-mutal
Piṉ-pā ṭ-aḷai-tē m-uḻai-vaḻi y-uḻi-y-uḻi
Uḷ-ḷ-akam puṟam-il l-iṭa-p-poruḷ-urupē. (Nān.

The same is the history of the suffix *kāl* in Malayalam and its abbreviated form *kal* used in such words as *orikkal*.

2·22292. *Kannaḍa suffixes.*

2·222921. *Attaṇim, attaṇindam, attaṇinde. Attaṇim* is itself a noun having *at* or *atta* (meaning 'that place') for the stem, *aṇ* for the inflexional increment and *im* for the case-suffix. It has already been said that Kannaḍa *im* corresponds to Tamil *iṉ* and should, consequently, have been the fifth case-suffix, and *indam* and *inde* developed from *im*.

2·222922. *Deseyinda* is also a case-form having for its stem *dese*, the modified form of *dase* which means 'state or condition' and having *inda* for its suffix.

1. Iḷampūraṇar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, two commentators on Tolkāppiyam take these words to be the suffixes; but, on the other hand, Cēṉāvaraiyar takes them to denote the specific meanings of the seventh case. The latter interpretation is sound. Still the former was adopted by Naṉṉūlār.

2·222923 *Oḷ* correponds to Tamil *uḷ* which means 'inner place'. Since the seventh case-suffix may be dropped in Kannaḍa as in Tamil, *oḷ* began to be considered as the seventh case-suffix.

2·222924. *Alli* is said by the Rev. F. Kittel to be the locative of the noun *al* which means 'place, state or condition'. Hence it corresponds to the Tamil word *iṭattil*; *i* is also said by him to be 'an occasional termination of the locative singular of nouns with final *a*'. He cites *puradi, kānnadi, sthaladi* as examples. From this it suggests to me that in the words *puradi* etc. *pura* is the stem *ad* is the flexional increment and *i* the locative suffix. The words *pura, kānana* and *sthala* are all tadbhavas from Sanskrit. Hence, it gives room to surmise that the locative singular suffix *i* of Sanskrit gradually crept in them. Later on it was added even to indigenous words. Thus Kannaḍa *alli* is a beautiful example for a word having indigenous stem and foreign suffix.

2·22293. *Telugu suffixes.*

2·222931. *Cēta.*[1] There is the sentence 'oka.. puli darbhalu *cētaṁ* baṭṭukoni ' (a tiger having held in its hand kuśa grass) in *Nīticandrika* Vol. I by Paravastu Cinnayyasūri. Here *cētaṁ* means 'in hand' and hence it may be the abbreviated form of *cētiyandu* where *cē* is the stem meaning 'hand' and *andu* the locative suffix, *t* being a part of the P. D. inflexional increment *at* or *ad*. It must be noted that it is the genius of Telugu to drop a part of the case-suffix. In course of time *cētaṁ* or *cēta* may have meant 'with hand'; The sentence, *dānicēta bhakṣimpa-baḍiye*[1] is capable of interpreting in two ways:—(1) it was eaten with its hand (2) it was eaten by it; eventually it might have been considered as a third-case-suffix. Consequently such sentences like *puruṣakāramu cētaṁ gāryamulu siddhiṁcunu.*[2] (Deeds bear fruit through effort). *Cē* also is used in place of *cētaṁ*.

1. Dr. Caldwell says that *cēta* is the instrumental form of *ceyi*, the hand. (C. D. G. 276)
2. N, C. p. 9.

2·222932. *Tōḍa.* In Rukmiṇī-kalyāṇa there is a sentence '*abalalatōḍa* viyyambulu andu' (performed marriages with female dolls).[1] The noun *tōḍu* means 'companion.; *tōḍandu* (*tōḍu*+*andu*) means 'in the company', it may have been abbreviated for the sake of metre to *tōḍaṁ*. This might have led the readers think that it is a third case-suffix meaning 'with', in the company of'.[2] *Tō* also is used in place or *tōḍaṁ*.

2·222933 *Koṟaku* is the sixth case according to Telugu grammarians whose stem is *koṟa* which means 'benefit' and *ku* is the sixth case-suffix; and it means 'for the benefit of'. Eventually it has been taken as a case-suffix.

2·222934. *Kayi* or *kai*. There is the sentence 'vidyābhyāsamukayi valayu prayatnamu cēsedanu'.[3] Here *iidyābhyāsamukayi* corresponds to Tamil *vittiyāppiyāśattiṟku āka* and hence originally the same word might have been a phrase consisting of two words *vidyābhyāsamuku* and *ayi*; later on it might have been considered as one word and through metanalysis *vidyābhyāsamu* was taken as the stem and *kayi* as the suffix. This is one of the instances where a part of a noun and an infinitive form of a verb has become a case-suffix.

2·222935. *Valana* seems to be the abbreviated form of *valanandu* which is the locative case of the noun *valanu* which means 'direction'. Thus the sentence 'mūrkhulu nūruguravalana phalamu ēmi'[4] means 'what is the use in having hundred fools? (*i. e.*,) what is the benefit from hundred fools? *valanu* is abbreviated to *valla*. *Cf.* 'ī māṭalavalla phalamu ēmi.'[5]

1. N. C. p. 6.
2. Dr. Caldwell says. R. K. p. 9. The Tamil *ōḍu* and the Telugu *tōḍu* are certainly not identical and yet it is difficult to suppose the resemblance between them altogether accidental. (C. D. G. p. 279)
3. N. C. 6.
4. N. C. p. 6.
5. *ibid* p. 10.

2·222936. *Kaṇṭe* may be taken to the abbreviated form of *kanuṭa* with *e* added at the end. *Kanuṭa* means 'seeing.' Since it is the genius of the Dravidian languages to drop the case-suffixes, *kaṇṭa* might have been used for *kaṇṭandu*. If so, *kaṇṭe* is similar to Tamil pārkkil and Malayalam *kāttil*. Hence the sentence 'Intakaṇṭe mañci sādhanamu lēdu' [1] means 'this, being considered, there is no better means', (*i. e.*,) there is no better means than this.

2·222937. *Paṭṭi* is the indeclinable past participle of the root *paṭṭu* which means 'to take hold of' and is cognate with Tamil *paṟṟi*. Hence it literally means 'having been considered'. When *paṭṭi* and its object preceding it with the case-suffix being dropped, are taken as one word, evidently *paṭṭi* gets the meaning 'for the sake of,' 'on account of' etc. The verbal noun formed from the root *agu* (to become) is *aka*; *aka paṭṭi* literally should have meant 'considering the formation.' The phrase has now become one word with the form *kābaṭṭi* [2] and meaning *therefore*.

2·222937. *Yokka.*[3] Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi says that *yokka* denotes general relationship. *Cf. Yokka ca śēṣē saṣṭhī* (3, 32). Hence I surmise that *yōga* which means 'union' may have become in Telugu *yokka* and *yokkandu* the seventh case of *yokka* might have remained *yokka* with the seventh case meaning without the case-suffix.

2·222938. *Lōpala.* There is a noun *lō* which means 'inside'.

Cf. Madhuvirōdhiki *lōna* (R. K. p. 11)
(in the mind of Kṛṣṇa)

Here *lōna* is the abbreviated form of *lōnandu*. There is another word *paṟa* which means 'extreme or exceeding.' Hence *lō-paṟa* may mean 'extremely inside' probably similar to Tamil *uṭpuṟam* which is made up of two words *uḷ* and *puṟam* where *uḷ*

1. *ibid* p. 11.
2. Vide A. B. V. 8, 96.
3. This suffix is rarely used and seems foreign to the idiom of the language. (C. D. G. p. 302.)

means inside and *puram* means exterior. *Utpuram* should originally have meant 'the external part of the interior', though it now means only 'inside.' *R* and *ṟ* may interchange with *l*. Hence *lōpala* might originally have meant 'the extreme part of the inside' and gradually might have been used in the sense of *inside*. Since words denoting place and time are generally used in languages without case-suffix, it too might have been used without the suffix *andu*. Since expressions like 'among men' are represented by words of the sixth case and the seventh case,[1] *lōpala* might have been taken as the sixth case-suffix. *Lō* also is used as the seventh case-suffix.

2·222939. *Andu*. The word *andu* should originally have meant 'that place' and later on 'place.'

Cf. Evvani *deśamandu* uniki (R. K. p. 18)
(which is your native place ?)

Here *dēśamandu* is a compound of two words *dēśamu* and *andu* respectively meaning country and place and standing in apposition with each other. It is also used in the sense of 'there'.

Cf. *andu* pakṣulu rātrī vasiñcucuṇḍunu (N. C. p. 8.)
(Birds live there at nights)
In the sentence
Gōdāvarītīramandu goppa..vṛkṣamu
galadu (N. C. p. 8)

gōdāvarītīramandu, though literally means 'the place of the banks of the *Gōdāvarī*', here means 'on the banks of the Gōdāvarī. This shows that the original case-suffix was dropped and *andu* was taken to be the case-suffix.

2·22294. *Malayalam suffixes.*

2·222941. *Koṇṭu*. This has already been treated in 2·222911.

2·222942. *Ninnu*. This too has been treated in 2·222914.

1. *Cf*. Sanskrit *narēṣu* kṣatriyaḥ śūraḥ (seventh case)
" *narāṇām* kṣatriyaḥ śūraḥ (sixth case)

2·222943. *Kāṭṭil and its modified form kāḷ.* This has been treated in 2·222915.

2·222945. *Pōkke* is perhaps formed by the addition of *e* to *pōkka*, the infinitive form of *pōkku* which means 'to cause to go.' The sentence 'keṭṭuppōyatu pōkke śēṣippuḷḷatu kaṇṭār' which originally might have meant 'causing to pass that which is spoiled, they saw that which remained,' where *keṭṭuppōyatu* is the object of *pōkke*; later on the two words *keṭṭuppōyatu pōkke* might have been taken as one word with *keṭṭuppōyatu* as the stem and *pōkke* as the suffix and might have been given the sense of 'from that which is spoiled.'

2·222946. *Uṭaya and its abbreviated forms uṭe and ṭe.* They have been dealt with in 2·222917.

2·222947. *Kāl and its abbreviated form kal.* They have been treated in 2·222918.

2·223. Flexional increments.

2·2231. *Enumeration*:—

	Tam.	*Kan.*	*Tel.*	*Mal.*
(1)	*iṉ*	*in*	*in*	*in*
	kāliṉai maṭuviṉatu	maḍuvina [1]	kālini [2]	atināl
(2)	*attu*	*d (ad)* [3]	*t* [4]	*attu*
	maṉattāṉ	manadim	cētini	manattāl

1. *Cf.* Ś. M. D. s. 108.
2. Orthodox grammarians have mentioned that *i* is the increment and *ni* the second case-suffix. Since I have already proved that *i* is the second case-suffix, I take *in* to be the increment here.
3. Ś. M. D. s. 106. Orthodox grammarians have stated *ḍ* to be the *āgama* or the flexional increment. Since mana+ad becomes manad, I prefer to take *ad* to be the increment.
4. Telugu has only *t* corresponding to Tamil *attu*.

	Tam.	*Kan.*	*Tel.*	*Mal.*
(3)	*aṉ*	*aṟ*[1]		*an*
	ataṉkaṉ ataṟkŭ	adaṟalli adaṟke		kalankompŭ (the horn of a deer)
(4)	*vaṟṟu*	*vaṟ*	*ṭ*	
	cilavaṟṟuḷ	kelavaṟoḷ[2]	nūṟiṭini	
(5)	*oṉ*			
	kō-oṉ-ai			
(6)	*am*			
	puḷi-y-aṅ-kōṭŭ			
(7)	*āṉ*			
	paraṇiy-ār koṇṭāṉ			
(8)	*akkŭ*			
	tamiḻak-kūttŭ			
(9)	*ikkŭ*			
	āṭikkŭ			
		aṇ		
		baḍagaṇim[3]		

2·2232. *Peculiarities of flexional increments.* Even though there were many flexional increments in the old Tamil, many of them like *oṉ*, *āṉ* etc. have become obsolete. Some of them are not found in Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam. Some of them are found in a modified form. The one that is found in all the four is *iṉ* and its modified form *in*. Next come *attu* and *aṉ* and its modified form *an*. Different increments are added in different situations and they undergo modification in different ways in different situations. They are seen in different languages thus :—

1. Ś. M. D. s. 110. Since *ṉ* changed to *ṟ* before voiceless consonants, *aṟ* became generalised in Kannaḍa.
2. *ibid* p. 147.
3. *ibid* s. 110. There is a point worthy of notice. According to Tolkāppiyaṉār *vaṭakkŭ* + *kaṇ* becomes *vaṭakkaṇ* (Tol. Eḻut. 202) which is in the seventh case. In Kannaḍa *baḍagaṇ* is taken to be the stem with the increment *aṇ*.

2·22321. Tamil. The increment *iṉ* is not used before *iṉ* the fifth case-suffix.[1] The *i* of *iṉ* is optionally dropped if the stem ends in *ā*[2]. *Cf. māviṉai* and *māṉai*. The *a* of *attu* is dropped if the pure stem or the stem in its modified form ends in *a*[3] *Cf. maram + ai = maram + attu + ai = mara + attu + ai = mara + ttu + ai = marattai*. It appears invariably after *a∴riṇai* words ending in *m*.[4] *Aṉ* was invariably used after the singular demonstrative neuter pronouns *atu, itu* and *utu*, when the final *u* of the stem was dropped. *Cf. atu + ai = atu + aṉ + ai = at + aṉ + ai = ataṉai.* In mod. Tamil *iṉ* also is used. *Cf. adiṉai. Vaṟṟu* was generally used after the neuter plural demonstrative, indefinite and interrogative pronouns.[5]

Cf. *avai + ai = av + vaṟṟu + ai = avaṟṟai ;*
pala + ai = pala + vaṟṟu + ai = palavaṟṟai
yā + ai = yā + vaṟṟu + ai = yāvaṟṟai

Oṉ appeared after the word *kō* *Cf. Kō + ai = kō + oṉ + ai = kōoṉai*[6] *Am, āṉ, akku* and *ikku* were added between two words, of which the former stood in case-relation to the latter and was devoid of case-suffix.

Cf. *puḷi + kōṭù = puḷiyaṅkōṭù* (branch of tamarind tree)
paraṇi + koṇṭāṉ = paraṇi-y-āṟ-koṇṭāṉ (He took it on *paraṇi* day)
tamiḻ + kūttù = tamiḻ + akku + kūttù = tamiḻakkūttù (Tamil dance)
āṭi + koṇṭāṉ = āṭikkukkoṇṭāṉ (He took it in the month of *āṭi*)

1. Tol. Eḻut. 132.
2. *ibid* 129.
3. *ibid* 126.
4. *ibid* 186.
5. *ibid* 178, 175 and 176.
6. Tol Eḻut. 181. Eventually, the form *kōṉai* was preferred and *kōṉ* began to be considered, by met-analysis, to be the stem. Hence the increment *oṉ* has become extinct in Mod. Tamil.

2·23. *Compounds.*

2·231. *Definition.* 'A compound is a group of words connected in some syntactical relation fused into a single form.'[1] The name *tokai* which is given by Tamil grammarians to compounds suggests both the unitary nature of compounds and the elision, in general, of something between their component parts. The Kannaḍa, the Telugu, and the Malayalam, grammarians have adopted the Sanskrit term *samāsa*, which explicitly refers to composition and implicitly conveys the idea of curtailment as may be seen from the contrast between the Sanskrit words *vyāsa* and *samāsa*.

2·232. *Classification.*

2·2321. *Tamil.* Tolkāppiyaṉār, the author of the earliest extant grammar in Tamil, classifies compounds into six kinds:—*vēṟṟumai-t-tokai, uvama-t-tokai, viṉai-t-tokai, paṇpu-t-tokai, ummai-t-tokai* and *aṉmoḻi-t-tokai.*

2·23211. *Vēṟṟumai-t-tokai* is the compound in which the former member stands in case-relation to the latter *viz.*

Nilaṅ-kaṭantavaṉ[2] (nilattai-k kaṭantavaṉ)
(One who has crossed the land)
Poṟ-kuṭam (poṉṉāl ākkappaṭṭa kuṭam)
(Pot made of gold)
Karuppu-vēli (karumpiṟkū vēli)
(Fence for sugarcandy crop)
Karuvūr-kiḻakkū (Karuvūriṉ kiḻakkū)
(Place east of Karuvūr)
Cāttaṉ-kai (Cāttanatu kai)
(Śāttan's hand.)

1. *Cf.* Ellā-t tokaiyu m-orucoṉ ṉaṭaiya (Tol. Col. 420.)
2. Cēṉāvaraiyar, one of the commentators on Tolkāppiyam takes *nilaṅ-kaṭantāṉ* (he crossed the land) where *kaṭantāṉ* is a finite verb and *nilam* is its object as one of the instances of *vēṟṟumai-t-tokai*; but other commentators do not agree with him and they take it to be a phrase made up of two words.

2·23212. *Uvamattokai* is the compound in which the former member is an *upamāna*. *viz.*

Tuṭi-y-iṭai (tuṭi pōṉṟa iṭai)
(Waist like *tuṭi*.)

2·23213. *Viṉai-t-tokai* is the compound made up of a relative participle and a noun qualified by it. *viz.*

Kol-yāṉai [1] (koṉṟa yāṉai or kollum yāṉai.)
(An elephant which killed, which kills or which will kill.)

2·23214. *Paṇpu-t-tokai* is a compound made up of two words which stand in apposition with each other; the former word may denote quality, state, colour etc. or the individual thing of a genus. *viz.*

Karuṅkutirai (kariyatu ākiya kutirai) [2]
(Black horse or horse which is black)
Vaṭṭa-p-palakai (vaṭṭitu ākiya palakai)
(Round plank or plank which is round)

1. *Kol-yāṉai* is, according to Cēṉāvaraiyar, a *pirivil-oṭṭu* or *nityasamāsa* (*i. e.*) it cannot be resolved into *koṉṟa yāṉai* or *kollum yāṉai*, but other commentators differ from him.
2. *Cf.* Tol. Col. 416. *Kariyatu* means 'a black object' and *kutirai* means 'a horse'; *kariyatu* restricts the denotation of *kutirai* and *kutirai* restricts that of *kariyatu*. This is well explained by Tolkāppiyaṉār in his statement '*iṉṉatu itu*.' *Cf.* Kannaḍa *karidu āda kudure* = *karikudire*. In the case of *cārai-p-pāmpu*, *cārai* alone restricts the denotation of *pāmpu*. Naṉṉūlār, on the other hand, thinks that *karumai akiya kutirai* becomes *karuṅkutirai* and he has not considered that *karumai* which denotes quality cannot stand in apposition with *kutirai* which denotes an object; besides he seems to think that, because the word *ākiya* is elided, it is called *paṇpu-t-tokai*.

Cārai-p-pāmpù (cārai ākiya pāmpù)
(Serpent of the individual class-*cārai*).

2·23215. *Ummai-t-tokai* is a compound made up of words connected by the particle *um* which means 'and.' *viz.*

Kapilaparaṇar (Kapilaṉ-um Paraṇaṉ-um)
(Kapilaṉ and Paraṇaṉ.)

2·23216. *Aṉmoḻi-t-tokai.* This word should have been a part of the words *irupeyar-al-moḻi-t-tokai* or *pal-peyar-al-moḻi-t-tokai* which means a compound made up of two or more words where something other than the component parts of the compound is elided. In course of time *aṉmoḻi-t-tokai* should have become current in the same way as the word *vēṟṟumai-y-alvaḻi-p-puṇarcci* became *alvaḻi-p-puṇarcci* (*Cf.* Tol. Eḻut. 113). It is called 'possessive compound' by philologists. In tamil a word may be decided to be an *aṉmoḻi-t-tōkai* only in a sentence. For instance the words *poṉ-meṉi, tuṭi-y-iṭai, karuṅ-kuḻal* ordinarily mean 'golden colour,' 'tuṭi-like-waist' and 'black plait of hair.' But in sentence like *poṉ-mēṉi vantāḷ, tuṭi-y-iṭai ceṉṟāḷ karuṅkuḻal vantāḷ,* the ordinary meaning of the words *poṉ-mēṉi, tuṭi-y-iṭai*[1] and *karuṅkuḻal* does not suit and hence they have to be respectively interpreted thus:—a lady of golden colour, a lady of tuṭi-like-waist and a lady of black plait of hair.

2·23217 *Certain irregularities.* In *vēṟṟumai-t-tokai,* the word that stands in case-relation generally stands as the former member. But in words like[2] *nuṉinā, aṅkai;*[3] *muṉṉil*[4] the order is reserved; *nāviṉaṭu nuṉi, kaiyiṉatu akam, illiṉatu muṉ* should ordinarily have compounded into *nāṉuṉi, kaiyakam* and *iṉmuṉ.*

1. *Tuṭi-y-iṭai* is taken to be *aṉmoḻ-t-tokai* by Cēṉāvaraiyar and *iru-peyar-oṭṭu-ākupeyar* by Teyvaccilaiyār, *Cf.* Tolkāppiya-c-collatikāra-k-kuṟippù pp. 195 and 196.
2. Tol. Eḻut. 91.
3. *ibid.* 316.
4. *ibid.* 356.

2·23218. The classification of compounds by modern philologists into co-ordinating and subordinating, and into epithetised and non-epithetised was clearly recognised by Tolkāppiyaṉār and this is seen from Tol. Col. 419 where, he says that the meanings conveyed by both the members of the compound or by that which precedes or by that which follows or by that which is other than the members of the compound, is important. Besides it is interesting to note that Tolkāppiyaṉār, though he was proficient in Sanskrit, was not too much influenced by it to spoil the genius of the Tamil language. *Ummai-t-tokai* and *aṉmoḻi-t-tokai* exactly correspond to *dvandva-samāsa* and *bahuvrīhi samāsa*; but in many cases in Sanskrit a compound may be determined to be *bahuvrīhi* from its form, while it is not so in Tamil. *Vēṟṟumai-t-tokai* corresponds to *dvitīyā-tatpuruṣa, tṛtīyā-tatpuruṣa, caturthī-tatpuruṣa, pañcamī-tatpuruṣa, ṣaṣṭhī-tatpuruṣa* and *saptamī-tatpurusa*, but never to *prathamā-tatpuruṣa*, which is also called *karmadhāraya* in Sanskrit. Since there is no relative participle in Sanskrit, *viṉai-t-tokai* does not strictly correspond to *viśēṣaṇa-pūrvapada-karmadhāraya* of the type *gacchatpuruṣaḥ*. *Uvama-t-tokai* corresponds to *upamāna-pūrvapada-karmadhāraya* and *paṇpu-t-tokai* to *viśēṣaṇa-pūrvapada karmadhāraya* of the type *kṛṣṇāśvaḥ*. Tolkāppiyaṉār did not recognise any compound in Tamil similar to *avyayībhāva* in Sanskrit.

2·2322. *Kannaḍa.* Kannaḍa grammarians have classified compounds on the model of Sanskrit grammarians. The author of the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa first mentions the six Sanskrit compounds and adds to them two more:—*kriyā-samāsa* and *gamaka-samāsa*. He cites *mēṁgāl, mēṁgay, aṁgay* etc. as examples for *avyayībhāva*. This shows that he had recognised the words *mēl agam* etc. as *avyayas*. But Tolkāppiyaṉār recognised them to be nouns so that he takes similar words to be examples for *vēṟṟumai-t--tokai* with the order of words reversed. The examples given for *kriyāsamāsa* are *keḷe goṭṭam, kālaṁ gaṇḍam etc*. They correspond to Tamil *kiḷai koṭṭiṉāṉ, kālam kaṇṭāṉ*. It has already been noticed that Cēṉāvaraiyar considers them to be compounds, though it is not absolutely necessary to take them so. The examples which are given for *gamaka-samāsa* are *irpattaidu* (Tamil *irupattaintu*), *āvakkāryam* (Tamil *e-k-kāriyam*), *pandaḷir* (Tamil *paintaḷir*) etc.

All these are taken under *paṇpu-t-tokai* in Tamil. *Mēṅgāl* etc. which were taken as examples for *avyayībhāva* by the author of the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* are cited by others as examples for *ēkadēśi-samāsa* or *prathamā-tatpuruṣasamāsa.*[1] There is slight difference between the *aṉmoḻi-t-tokai* in Tamil and *bahuvrīhi sāmāsa* in Kannaḍa :–Kannaḍa words like *kaḍugēḍi* (Tamil *kaṭuṅ-kēṭaṉ*) may be determined to be *bahuvrīhi* from the form ; but it is not so in Tamil words. Words like *kaṭuṅ-kēṭaṉ* are not taken to be *aṉmoḻi-t-tokai* ; on the other hand, *kaṭuṅkēṭu* in the sentence *kaṭuṅkēṭu vantāṉ* is *aṉmoḻi-t-tokai.*

2·2323. *Telugu.* Telugu grammarians have classified compounds only on the model of Sanskrit grammarians. They are classified into *tatpuruṣa, dvigu, karmadhāraya, dvandva* and *bahuvrīhi. Avyayībhāva* is not mentioned[2]. *Mukkaṇṭi* (Tamiḷ *mukkaṇṇaṉ*) and *Karakaṇṭhuḍu* (Tamil *karai-k-kaṇṭaṉ*) are given as examples for *bahuvrīhi*. They also differ from Tamil *aṉmoḻittokai*, since they show that they are *bahuvrīhi* from their form.

2·2324. *Malayalam.* The author of the *Kēraḷapāṇinīyam* classifies compounds into three kinds —*tatpuruṣan, bahuvrīhi* and *dvandvan* and mentions that *dvigu* and *avyayībhāva* do not exist in Malayalam. The example he gives for *bahuvrīhi* is *tāmarakkaṇṇaṉ*. This differs from Tamil *aṉmoḻittokai* in the same way as the *bahuvrīhi* in Kannaḍa and Telugu.

2·24 *Pronouns.* They are divided into personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, numeral pronouns, indefinite pronouns, collective pronouns and reflexive pronouns.

2·241. ***Personal pronouns*** are divided into first personal pronouns and second personal pronouns.

1. *Cf.* A Grammar of the Modern Canarese Language by Krishnamacharya p. 130.
2. Ā. Ś. C. 3, 41.

2·2411. *First personal pronouns* :—

2·24111. *Singular* :—

		Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
First case					
	O.	yāṉ [1]	nāṉ āṉ nāṁ āṁ	nēnu ēnu	ñān [2]
	M.	yāṉ nāṉ	nāṉu		
Second case					
	O.	eṉṉai	nannam ennam	nannunu	enne
	M.	eṉṉai	nanna nannannu		
Third case					
	O.	eṉṉāṉ eṉṉoṭŭ	nannim ennim	nācētanu nātōḍanu	ennāl ennoṭu
	M.	eṉṉāṉ eṉṉāl eṉṉoṭŭ	nanninda		

1. *Yāṉ* is more ancient than *nāṉ* since *eṉ*, the base of the oblique cases, bears similarity to *yāṉ* and not to *nāṉ*. It should have been born in analogy with the plural *nām*, which has a corresponding oblique base.

2. Malayalam *ñāṉ* is formed from the blending of *yāṉ* and *nāṉ* taking the nasal element from *n* of *nāṉ* and the palatal element from *y* of *yāṉ*.

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
Fourth case				
O.	eṉakkŭ	nanage, enage	nākayi	enikku
M.	eṉakkŭ, nēkkŭ (coll.)	nanage		
Fifth case				
O.	eṉṉiṉ	nannattaṇim, ennattaṇim	nāvalana	
M.	eṉṉiṉ	nanna-deseyinda		
Sixth case				
O.	eṉatŭ	nanna, nanatu, nanattu, enna, enatu, enattu	nādu, nāku	ennuṭe
M.	eṉatŭ, eṉa, eṉṉuṭaiya	nanna		
Seventh case				
O.	eṉkaṇ	nannoḷ, nannalli, ennoḷ, ennalli	nāyandu	ennil
M.	eṉkaṇ, eṉṉiṭam, eṉṉiṭattil etc.	nannalli		

2·24112. *Plural* :—

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
First case				
O.	yām, nām	nām, ām	mēmu, ēmu, manamu	nām, ñaṅṅaḷ, nammaḷ
M.	yām, nām, yāṅkaḷ, nāṅkaḷ	nāvu		

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
Second case				
O.	emmai nammai	nammam emman	mammunu manalanu	namme eṅṅaḷe
M.	emmai nammai eṅkaḷai	namma nammannu		
Third case				
O.	emmāṉ nammāṉ emmoṭŭ nammotŭ	nammim emmim	mācētanu manacētanu manalacētanu mātōḍanu etc.	nammāl eṅṅaḷāl
M.	emmāṉ emmāl nammāṉ nammāl emmoṭŭ eṅkaḷāl eṅkaḷoṭŭ	namminda		
Fourth case				
O.	emakkŭ namakkŭ	namage emage	mākayi manakayi	namukkŭ eṅṅaḷukku
M.	emakkŭ namakkŭ eṅkaṭkŭ eṅkaḷukkŭ	namage		
Fifth case				
O.	emakkiṉ namakkiṉ	nammattaṇim emmattaṇim		
M.	emakkiṉ namakkiṉ eṅkaliṉ nammi-ṉiṉru etc.	namma-deseyinda	māvalana manavalana	

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
Sixth case				
O.	ematŭ namatŭ	namma namatu namattu emma ematu emattu		
M.	ematŭ ema namatŭ nama eṅkaḷatŭ eṅkaḷa emmuṭaiya nam- muṭaiya eṅka- ḷuṭaiya	namma	māku manaku mādu manadu	nammuṭe eṅṅaḷuṭe
Seventh case				
O.	eṅkaṇ naṅkaṇ	nammoḷ emmoḷ nammalli emmalli	māyandu manayandu	nammil eṅṅaḷil
M.	eṅkaṇ naṅkaṇ eṅkaḷiṉkaṇ etc.	nammalli		

2·2412. *Second Personal pronoun.*

2·24121. *Singular*

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
First case				
O.	nī	nīn	nīvu	nī [1]
M.	nī	nīnu	īvu	

1. It deserves to be noted that *nīvu* is singular in Ṭelugu and plural in Kannaḍa.

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
Second case				
O.	niṉṉai	ninnam		
M.	niṉṉai	ninna	ninnunu	ninne
	nuṉṉai	ninnannu		
	uṉṉai [1]			
Third case				
O.	niṉṉāṉ	ninnim		
	niṉṉoṭŭ			
M.	niṉṉāṉ	ninninda	nīcētanu	ninnoṭu
	nuṉṉāṉ		nītōḍanu	ninnāl
	uṉṉāṉ [1]			
	niṉṉāl etc.			
	niṉṉoṭŭ			
	etc.			
Fourth case				
O.	niṉakkŭ	ninage		
M.	niṉakkŭ	ninage	nīkayi	ninakku
	nuṉakkŭ			
	uṉakkŭ [1]			
	nōkkŭ			
	(colloq.)			
Fifth case				
O.	niṉṉiṉ	ninnattaṇim		
M.	niṉṉiṉ	ninnadese-yinda	nīvalana	
	nuṉṉiṉ			
	uṉṉiṉ			

1. Tamil *uṉṉai, uṉṉāṉ* etc. are from *nuṉṉai, nuṉṉāṉ* etc. thro' metanalysis. *Nuṉṉai* from *niṉṉai* is thro' analogy with *nummai.*

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
Sixth case				
O.	niṉatŭ	ninna ninatu ninattu		
M.	niṉatŭ nina nuṉatŭ nuṉa uṉatŭ uṉa uṉṉuṭaiya	ninna	nīdu nīku	ninnuṭe
Seventh case				
O.	niṉkaṇ	ninnoḷ ninnalli		
M.	niṉkaṇ nuṉkaṇ uṉkaṇ niṉṉiṭam etc.	ninnalli	nīyandu	ninnil

2·24122. *Plural* :—

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
First case				
O.	nīyir nīvir nīr	nīm		
M.	nīyir nīvir nīr [1] nīyirkaḷ etc. nīm nīṅgaḷ [1] nīṅga (vulgar)	nīvu	mīru mīralu īru īralu	niṅṅaḷ

1. In Mod. Tamil *nīr* and *nīṅgaḷ* are used as honorific singular also; if the person spoken to is of the same level of respectablity as the speaker, *nīr* is used; if he is a little higher, *nīṅgaḷ* is used; if he is much higher, *tāṅgaḷ* is used; if he is of greatest respectability, the word *iv-v-iṭattil* is used.

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
Second case				
O.	nummai	nimmam		
M.	nummai ummai[1] uṅgaḷai uṅgaḷe (vulgar)	nimma nimmannu	mimmunu	numme
Third case				
O.	nummāṉ nummoṭŭ	nimmim		
M.	nummāṉ nummāl ummāṉ[1] ummāl uṅgaḷāṉ uṅgaḷāl nummoṭŭ etc.	nimminda	mīcētanu mītōḍanu	nummāl nummoṭŭ
Fourth case				
O.	numakkŭ	nimage		
M.	numakkŭ umakkŭ[1] uṅgaṭkŭ uṅgaḷukkŭ	nimage	mīkayi	numukkŭ
Fifth case				
O.	nummiṉ	nimmattaṇim		
M.	nummiṉ ummiṉ uṅgaḷiṉ	nimma- deseyinda	mīvalana	

1. Tamil *ummai*, *ummāṉ* etc. are derived from *nummai*, *nummāṉ* etc. thro' metanalysis.

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
Sixth case				
O.	numatŭ	nimma nimatu nimattu		
M.	numatŭ numa umatŭ uma uṅgaḷatŭ uṅgaḷa num-muṭaiya etc.	nimma	mīdu mīku	nummuṭe niṅṅaḷuṭe
Seventh case				
O.	nuṅkaṇ	nimmoḷ nimmalli		
M.	nuṅkaṇ uṅkaṇ uṅgaḷin-kaṇ nummitam ummiṭam uṅgaḷiṭam etc.	nimmalli	mīyandu	nimmil niṅṅaḷil nummil

2.242. Demonstrative pronouns are of three kinds: those that denote persons or things at a distance, those that denote persons or things at proximity and those that are neither far away nor very near. In course of time the words of the last kind became extinct. They have different forms in masculine singular, feminine singular, epicene plural, neuter singular and neuter plural. It is very interesting to note that the endings of the demonstrative pronouns in Tamil are exactly similar to those of the finite verbs. The initial element *a*, *i* and *u* in Tamil, Kannaḍa and Malayalam in them respectively denotes whether they are remote demonstrative pronouns, proximate demonstrative pronouns or intermediate demonstrative pronouns.

2·2421. *Masculine singular* :—

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
First case				
O.	avaṉ	avaṁ [1]	vāṁḍu [2]	avan
M.	avaṉ	avanu		
Second case				
O.	avaṉai	avanam		
M.	avaṉai	avana avanannu	vānini	avane
Third case				
O.	avaṉāṉ avaṉoṭŭ	avanim	vānicētanu vānitōḍanu	avanāl avanoṭŭ
M.	avaṉāṉ avaṉāl avaṉoṭŭ	avaninda		
Fourth case				
O.	avaṟkkŭ	avanige		
M.	avaṉukkŭ	avanige avage avaṁge	vānikayi	avanikkŭ
Fifth case				
O.	avaṉiṉ	avanattaṇim	vānivalana	avanilninnu
M.	avaṉiṉ	avanadeseyinde		
Sixth case				
O.	avaṉatŭ	avana		
M.	avaṉatŭ avaṉa avaṉ-uṭaiya	avana	vāniki	avanuṭe

1. *Ātanu* is a term of respectability in place of *avaṁ*.
2. In Telugu, the final *n* is changed to *ṁ* and a glide *ḍ* is inserted between it and the enunciative *u* at the end; this is clear from the oblique case-forms *vānini* and *vāniki*; since the initial *a* is dropped, the second *a* is lengthened by compensation.

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
Seventh case				
O.	avaṉiṉkaṇ	avanoḷ		
M.	avaṉiṉkaṇ avaṉiṭam etc.	avanalli	vāniyandu	avanil

Similar are the forms for Tamil *ivaṉ* and *uvaṉ*, Kannada *ivaṁ* and *uvaṁ*, Telugu *vīṁḍu* and Malayalam *ivan*.

2·2422. *Feminine singular*:—

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
First case				
O.	avaḷ	avaḷ	adi	avaḷ
M.	avaḷ	avaḷu		
Second case				
O.	avaḷai	avaḷam	dānini	avaḷe
M.	avaḷai	avaḷa avaḷannu		
Third case				
O.	avaḷāṉ avaḷoṭŭ	avaḷim	dānicētanu dānitoḍanu	avaḷāl avaḷoṭu
M.	avaḷāṉ avaḷāl avaḷoṭŭ	avaḷinda		
Fourth case				
O.	avaṭkŭ avaḷukkŭ	avaḷige	dānikayi	avaḷukku
M.	avaṭkŭ avaḷukkŭ	avaḷige		
Fifth case				
O.	avaḷiṉ	avaḷattaṇim	dānivalana	avaḷilninnu
M.	avaḷiṉ	avaḷadeseyinda		
Sixth case				
O.	avaḷatŭ	avaḷa	dāniki	avaḷuṭe
M.	avaḷatŭ avaḷa	avaḷa		

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
Seventh case				
O.	avaḷiṉkaṇ	avaḷoḷ avaḷalli		
M.	avaḷiṉkaṇ avaḷiṭam etc.	avaḷalli	dāniyandu	avaḷil

Similar are the forms for Tamil *ivaḷ* and *uvaḷ*, Old Kannaḍa *ivaḷ* and *uvaḷ*, Mod, Kannaḍa *ivaḷu* and *uvaḷu*, Telugu *idi*, and Malayalam *ivaḷ*.

It seems that forms in Telugu corresponding to Tamil—Kannaḍa forms *avaḷ*, *ivaḷ* and *uvaḷ* fell out of use before a long time, but *āme*, *āpe*, *āke* are used as terms of respectability. Dr. Kittel says in his Kannaḍa—English Dictionary thus:—"As in Telugu *vāḍu* and *adi*, so also in the vulgar dialect of the Southern Mhr. Country *ava* and especially *avaḷ* are at present not used in reference to any person of respectability, but are replaced there by *āta* and *āke*. Even in the vulgar dialect of the Tamil country at present, elders prefer the use of *adu* in the place of *avaḷ*. Perhaps this practice was so prevalent in the Telugu country as a whole long ago that the form *avaḷu* or *vāḷu* died out of existence."

2·2423. *Epicene plural* :—

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
First case				
O.	avar	avar avargaḷ		
M.	avar [1] avargaḷ avarhaḷ avaṅga (vulgar)	avaru [2] avarugaḷu avaṁdiru avaṁdirugaḷu	vāru vāralu vāṁḍru	avar

1. Kannaḍa uses *ātandiru* and *ātandirugaḷu* as terms of respectability in place of *avaru* and *avarugaḷu*.
2. In Mod, Tamil, *avar* and *avargaḷ* are used as honorific singular; of them, the latter suggests greatest respectability.

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
Second case				
O.	avarai	avaram avargaḷam		
M.	avarai avargaḷai avarhaḷai avaṅgaḷe (vulgar)	avara avarugaḷa avarannu avaṁdirugaḷa	vārini vāralanu vāṁḍranu	avare
Third case				
O.	avarāṉ avaroṭů	avarim avargaḷim	vāricētana vāritōḍana etc.	avarāl avarōṭů
M.	avarāṉ avarāl avaroṭů etc.	avarinda avarugaḷinda		
Fourth case				
O.	avarkků	avarige avargaḷige		
M.	avarkků avarukků avar- gaḷukků avar- haḷukků avaṅga- ḷukků (vulgar)	avarige avarugaḷige	vārikayi etc.	avarukků
Fifth case				
O.	avariṉ	avarattaṇim avargaḷ- attanim		
M.	avariṉ avargaḷiṉ avarhaḷiṉ avaṅgaḷil- iruntu	avara deseyinda avarugaḷa deseyinda	vārivalana etc.	avarilninnu

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Myl.
Sixth case				
O.	avaratŭ	avara avargaḷa		
M.	avaratŭ avara avargaḷ-uṭaiya avarhaḷ-uṭaiya avaṅgaḷ-uḍaiya	avara avarugaḷa	vāriki etc.	avaruṭe
Seventh case				
O.	avariṉkaṇ	avaroḷ avargaḷoḷ		
M.	avariṉkaṇ avargaḷil avarhaḷil avaṅgaḷil avar-gaḷiṭam etc.	avaralli avarugaḷalli	vārandu etc.	avaril

Similar are the forms for Tamil—Kannaḍa *ivar*, *uvar* etc.

2·2424. *Neuter singular* :—

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
First case				
O.	atu	adu	adi	
M.	adŭ	adu	addi	atŭ
Second case				
O.	ataṉai	adaṁ ada adana adanu adannu adanna adaṟannu adaṟanna	dānini	atine
M.	adaṉai adiṉai adai attai (vulgar)	ada adannu		

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
Third case				
O.	ataṉāṉ ataṉoṭŭ	adaṟim		
M.	adaṉāṉ adiṉāṉ adaṉāl adiṉāl adaṉoṭŭ attāl (vulgar)	adariṁda	dānicētanu dānitōḍanu	atinōṭŭ atināl
Fourth case				
O.	ataṟkŭ	adaṟke adakke adake		
M.	adarkŭ adiṟku adukkŭ (colloq.)	adakke	dānikayi	atināyikoṇṭŭ
Fifth case				
O.	ataṉiṉ	adaṟattaṇim		
M.	adaniṉ adilirundŭ etc.	adaradeseyinda	dānivalana	atilninnu
Sixth case				
G.	atāṉatŭ	adaṟa		
M.	adaṉadŭ adana adiṉadŭ adiṉa adiṉuḍaiya	adara	dāniki	atinu atiṇṭe atinuṭe
Seventh case				
O.	ataṅkaṇ	adaṟoḷ adaṟalli		
M.	adaṅkaṇ adaṉiḍam adil adaṉil etc.	adaralli	dāniyandu	atil

Similar are the forms for the Tamil ***itu, utu,*** Kannaḍa ***idu, udu,*** Telugu ***idi*** and Malayalam ***itŭ.***

2.2425. *Neuter plural:—*

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
First case				
O.	avai av[1]	avu avugaḷ	avi avvi	ava avakaḷ atukaḷ[3]
M.	avai avaihaḷ[2] avaigaḷ	avu avugaḷu		
Second case				
O.	avaṟṟai	avaṁ		
M.	avaṟṟai avaihaḷai avaigaḷai avugaḷe (vulgar)	ava avannu avugaḷa avugaḷannu	vānini	avaṟṟine avakaḷe atukaḷe
Third case				
O.	avaṟṟāṉ avaṟṟoṭŭ	avaṟim		
M.	avaṟṟāṉ avaṟṟāl avaṟṟoṭŭ avaihaḷāl avaigaḷāl avugaḷāl (vulgar)	avarinda avugaḷinda	vānicētanu vānitōḍanu	avaṟṟināl avaṟṟinōṭŭ etc.

1. In Ancient Tamil there were forms *av*, *iv*, *uv* having the same meaning as *avai*, *ivai*, *uvai*; but such forms have become obsolete in later Tamil.
2. The forms *avaigaḷ* and *avaihaḷ* are cases of double plural.
3. Malayalam *aṭukaḷ* should have been formed in analogy with the plural forms of nouns like *āṭukaḷ*.

		Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
Fourth case					
	O.	avaṟṟiṟkŭ	avaṟke avakke avake		
	M.	avaṟṟiṟkŭ avai- haḷukku avai- gaḷukkŭ avu- gaḷukkŭ (vulgar)	avakke avugaḷige	vānikayi	avaṟṟiṟkŭ etc.
Fifth case					
	O.	avaṟṟin	avaṟattaṇim		
	M.	avaṟṟin avaigaḷil- irundŭ avaihaḷil- irundŭ avugaḷil- irundŭ (vulgar)	avara- deseyinda avugaḷa- deseyinda	vānivalana	avaṟṟilninnu etc.
Sixth case					
	O.	avaṟṟatŭ	avaṟa		
	M.	avaṟṟatŭ avaṟṟa avaihaḷatŭ avaigaḷadŭ	avara avugaḷa	vāniki	avaṟṟuṭe avakaḷuṭe
Seventh case					
	O.	avaṟṟiṇkaṇ	avaṟoḷ		
	M.	avaṟṟin- kaṇ avaṟṟiḍam avai- haḷiḍam avai- gaḷiḍam	avaralli avugaḷalli	vāniyandu	avaṟṟil avakaḷil atukaḷil

Similar are the forms for the Tamil *ivai* and *uvai*, Kannaḍa *ivu* and *uvu*, Telugu *ivi*, *ivvi* etc. and Malayalam *iva*.

2·243. *Interrogative pronouns:—*

2·2431 *Masculine singular:—*

		Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
First case					
	O.	yāvaṉ	yāvaṁ	evaṁḍu	yāvan evan
	M.	evaṉ yār[1] ār	yāvanu yāru	evvaṁḍu ēvvāṁḍu ēvāṁḍu ēṁḍu	
Second case					
	O.	yāvaṉai	yāvanam	ēnini	evane
	M.	evaṉai yārai ārai	yāvana yāra	ēvānini evvānini evvanini evanini	
Third case					
	O.	yāvaṉāṉ yāvaṉoṭu	yāvanim		
	M.	evaṉāl evaṉoṭu yārāl yāroṭu ārāl āroṭu	yāvaninda yārinda	evanicētanu evanitōḍanu	evanāl evanōṭu

1. *Cf.* Yāa r-eṉṉum viṉāviṉ kiḷavi
A-t-tiṇai maruṅkiṉ muppāṟku m-urittē (Tol. Col. 210)

This sūtra shows that *yār* was used at the time of Tolkāppiyam as predicate with reference to *āṉpāl, peṇpāl* and *palarpāl.* In later Tamil it began to be used even as subject so that the forms *yāvaṉ, yāvaḷ* and *yāvar* have become obsolete. The reason why *yār* should have been used as *āṉpāl* also may be this: when *yāvaṉ* was abbreviated to *yāṉ* in the same way

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
Fourth case				
O.	yāvaṉukkŭ	yāvanige yāvage		
M.	evaṉukkŭ yārukkŭ ārukkŭ	yāvanige yāvage yārige	evanikayi	evanukkŭ
Fifth case				
O.	yāvaṉiṉ	yāvan-attaṇim		
M.	evaṉiṉ yāriṉ āriṉ	yāvana-deseyinda yāra-deseyinda	evanivalana	evanilninnŭ
Sixth case				
O.	yāvaṉatŭ	yāvana		
M.	evaṉatŭ evaṉa evaṉ-uḍaiya yāradŭ yāra yāruḍaiya etc.	yāvana yāra	evaniki	evaṇṭe
Seventh case				
O.	yāvaṉkaṇ	yāvanoḷ		
M.	evaṉkaṇ evariḍam yāriḍam āriḍam etc.	yāvanalli yāralli	evaniyandu	evanil

as *yāvar* was abbreviated to *yār*, a confusion would have arisen between the first personal singular pronoun and this *yāṉ*. Since it is one of the duties of languages to avoid ambiguity even at the risk of grammatical inaccuracy, *yār* might have been chosen in place of *yāṉ*; thro' analogy it might have been used as *peṇpāl*.

2·2432. *Feminine singular* :—

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
First case				
O.	yāvaḷ	yāvaḷ	edi ēdi eddi ēyadi eyyadi	yāvaḷ evaḷ
M.	evaḷ yār ār	yāvaḷu yāru		
Second case				
O.	yāvaḷai	yāvaḷam	dēnini ēdānini eddānini	evaḷe
M.	evaḷai yārai ārai	yāvaḷa yāra		
Third case				
O.	yāvaḷāṉ yāvaḷoṭŭ	yāvaḷim		
M.	evaḷāl evaḷoṭŭ yārāl yāroṭŭ ārāl āroṭŭ	yāvaḷinda yārinda	dēnicētanu dēnitōḍanu	evaḷāl evaḷōṭŭ
Fourth case				
O.	yāvaṭkŭ	yāvaḷige		
M.	evaṭkŭ evaḷukkŭ yārukkŭ ārukkŭ	yāvaḷige yārige	dēnikayi	evaḷukkŭ
Fifth case				
O.	yāvaḷiṉ	yāvaḷattaṇim		
M.	evaḷiṉ yāriṉ āriṉ	yāvaḷa-deseyinda	dēnivaləna	evaḷilninnu

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
Sixth case				
O.	yāvaḷatŭ	yāvaḷa		
M.	evaḷatŭ evaḷa yāratŭ yāra āratŭ āra	yāvaḷa yāra	dēniki	evaḷuṭe
Seventh case				
O:	yāvaḷiṉkaṇ	yāvaḷoḷ		
M.	evaḷinkaṇ evaḷiṭam yāriṉkaṇ yāriṭam āriṉkaṇ āriṭam etc.	yāvaḷalli yāralli	dēniyandu	evaḷil

2·2433. *Epicene plural* :—

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
First case				
O.	yāvar yār	yāvar yār	ēvāru ēvāralu ēvāṁḍru	yāvar yār ār
M.	yār ār	yāvaru yāru yāvarugaḷu	evvāru evvāralu evvāṁḍru	
Second case				
O.	yāvarai yārai	yāvaram yāram	evvaru evvaṁḍru	yāre āre
M.	yārai ārai	yāvara yāra yāvarugaḷa	evaru evaṁḍru [1]	

1. The other forms are :—*ēvāralanu, ēvāṁḍranu, evvāralanu, evvāṁḍranu, evvaṁḍranu, evaṁḍranu.*

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
Third case				
O.	yāvarāṉ		ērini	
	yāvaroṭŭ	yāvarim	ēvārini	
	yārāṉ	yārim	evvārini	
	yāroṭŭ		evvarini	yārāl
M.	yārāṉ		evarini	yārōṭŭ
	yārāl	yāvarinda	ēricētanu	ārāl
	ārāṉ	yārinda	ēritōḍanu	ārōṭŭ
	ārāl	yāvaru-galinda	evaricētanu	
	yāroṭŭ		evaritōḍanu	
	āroṭŭ			
Fourth case				
O.	yāvarkkŭ	yāvarige		
	yārkkŭ	yārige		
M.	yārkkŭ	yāvarige	evarikayi	yārkkŭ
	yārukkŭ	yārige	ērikayi	ārkkŭ
	ārukkŭ	yāvarugaḷige		
Fifth case				
O.	yāvariṉ	yāvarattaṇim		
	yāriṉ	yārattaṇim		
M.	yāriṉ	yāvara-deseyinda	evarivalana	yārilninnu
	āriṉ		ērivalana	ārilninnu
		yāvarugaḷa-deseyinda		
Sixth case				
O.	yāvaratŭ	yāvara		
	yāratŭ	yāra		
M.	yāradŭ		evariki	yāruṭe
	yāra	yāvara	ēriki	āruṭe
	āradŭ	yāra		
	āra	yāvarugaḷa		
Seventh case				
O.	yāvariṉkaṇ	yāvaroḷ		
	yāriṉkaṇ	yāroḷ		
M.	yāriṉkaṇ			
	yāriṭam	yāvaralli	evariyandu	yāril
	etc.	yāralli	ēriyandu	āril
	āriṉkaṇ	yāvarugaḷalli		
	āriṭam			
	etc.			

2·2434. *Neuter singular:—*

	Tam.	Kan.	Tet.	Mal.
First case				
O.	yātŭ	yāvadu	edi	
	yāvatŭ [1]	āvadu	ēdi	
			eddi	yātŭ
M.	yādŭ	yāvadu	ēyadi	etŭ
	edŭ	ēnu	eyyadi	
Second case				
O.	yātaṉai	yāvadam	dēnini	
		āvadam	ēdānini	yātane
M.	edaṉai	yāvada	eddānini	etane
		ēna		
Third case				
O.	yātaṉāṉ	yāvadim		
	yātaṉoṭŭ		dēnicētanu	etanāl
M.	edaṉāl	yāvadarinda	dēnitōḍanu	etanōṭu
	edaṉoḍŭ	ētarinda		
Fourth case				
O.	yātaṟkŭ	yāvadakke		
M.	edaṟkŭ	yāvadakke	dēnikayi	etarkku
		ētakke		
		ēke		
Fifth case				
O.	yātaṉin	yāvadattaṇim		
M.	edaṉiṉ	yāvadara-deseyinda	dēnivalana	etilninnu
		ētara-deseyinda		

1. The form *yāvatŭ* is considered by Tolkāppiyaṉār to have been later than *yātŭ*.

Cf. Oṉṟari coṉ-muṉ yāteṉ viṉāviṭai
Oṉṟiya vakaram varutalum (Tol. Eḷut. 173)

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
Sixth case				
O.	yātaṉatŭ	yāvadara		
M.	edaṉadŭ edaṉa edaṉ-uḍaiya	yāvadara ētara	dēniki	etinuṭe
Seventh case				
O.	yātaṉiṉkaṇ	yāvadaṟoḷ		
M.	edaṉkaṇ edaṉiḍam etc.	yāvadaralli ētaralli	dēniyandu	etil

2·2435. *Neuter plural:—*

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
First case				
O.	yāvai	yāvuvu āvuvu	evi ēvi	
M.	evai	yāvavu yāvavugaḷu	evvi ēyavi eyyavi	yāva
Second case				
O.	yāvaṟṟai	yāvavam	vēnini	
M.	evaṟṟai	yāvava yāvavugaḷa	ēvānini evvānini	yāvaṟṟine
Third case				
O.	yāvaṟṟāṉ yāvaṟṟoṭŭ	yāvavim		
M.	evaṟṟāṉ evaṟṟāl evaṟṟoṭŭ	yāvavarinda yāva-vugaḷinda	vēnicētanu vēnitōḍanu	yāvaṟṟiṉāl yāvaṟṟiṉoṭŭ
Fourth case				
O.	yāvaṟṟiṟkŭ	yāvavakke		
M.	evaṟṟiṟkŭ	yāvavakke yāvavugaḷige	vēnikayi	yāvaṟṟiṟkŭ

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
Fifth case				
O.	yāvaṟṟiṉ	yāvavattaṇim		
M.	evaṟṟiṉ	yāvavara-deseyinda, yāvavugaḷa-deseyinda	vēnivalana	yāvaṟṟilninnu
Sixth case				
O.	yāvaṟṟiṉatu	yāvavaṟa		
M.	evaṟṟiṉadu, evaṟṟiṉa	yāvavara, yāvavugaḷa	vēniki	yāvaṟṟuṭe
Seventh case				
O.	yāvaṟṟiṉkaṇ	yāvavaṟoḷ		
M.	evaṟṟiṉkaṇ	yāvavaralli, yāvavugaḷalli	vēniyandu	yāvaṟṟil

2·244. *Numeral pronouns* are those pronouns which are derived from numeral roots.

2·2441. Those that are derived from the root *or* which means *one* are masculine singular, feminine singular and neuter singular; since the stem denotes one, the suffix cannot denote many. They are in Tamil *oruvaṉ, orutti* and *oṉṟu*; *orutti* is generally replaced by *oruvaḷ* in Mod. Tamil; *oruvar* is used when the speaker is aware of one person, but does not know definitely whether it is male or female.[1] Those that are derived from roots which mean two or more can have forms of epicene plural like *iruvar, mūvar* etc. and forms of neuter plural like *iraṇṭu, mūṉṟu* etc. It is interesting to note that the words *iraṇṭu, mūṉṟu, nāṉku* etc. are similar in form to the neuter singular participial nouns, though they denote more than one; the reason for such a one can be well explained that the groups of two, three etc. are considered as one. For instance in the expressions *ivai iraṇṭu, ivai mūṉṟu*, etc., the collection which is denoted by *ivai* is taken

1. *Cf.* Oruva r-eṉṉum peyar-nilai-k kiḷavi
Irupāṟku m-uritte teriyuṅ kālai (Tol. Col. 191)

as one and hence the words *iraṇṭù, mūṉṟù* etc. which are appellative verbs are in the singular number. The same form began to persist even if they stand in apposition with plural nouns, as in *iraṇṭu māḍukaḷ*. In later Tamil the expressions line *iruvar makkaḷ* have been replaced by *iraṇḍu makkaḷ* so that the neuter form *iraṇḍu* began to be used in apposition with *uyartinai* nouns also. *Oṉṟù, iraṇṭù, mūṉṟù* etc. take the flexional increment *aṉ* before case-suffixes *viz. oṉṟaṉai, oṉṟaṉāṉ* etc., *iraṇṭaṉai, iraṇṭaṉāṉ*, etc., *mūṉṟaṉai, mūṉṟaṉāṉ* etc.

2·2442. Old Kannaḍa had the forms *orvaṁ, orbaṁ, orvaḷ, orbaḷ, orvan, orbar, ordu*, and Mod. Kannaḍa has the forms *obbanu, obbaḷu, obbaru*, and *ondu*. It is clear that *orbaṁ* transformed itself into *obbanu* where *r* is assimilated to *b*. Similarly Old Kannaḍa had *irvar, irbar, īrvar, mūvar, eraḍu*, etc. while Mod. Kannaḍa has *ibbaru, mūvaru, eraḍu* etc. *Ondu, eraḍu* etc. take the flexional increment *aṟ* in Old Kannaḍa and *ar* in Mod. Kannaḍa, before the suffix of the third, the sixth and the seventh, case.

2·2443. Telugu uses the forms *oruṁḍu, oruvuṁḍu, oṁḍu, oḍḍu, okaṁḍu, okoṁḍu, okkaṁḍu, okkoṁḍu, okaruṁḍu, okoruṁḍu, okkaruṁḍu, okkoruṁḍu*, corresponding to Tamil, *oruvaṉ*: the forms *orulu, oruvulu, oṁdulu, oṁdlu, oḍḍulu, oḍlu, okaru, okaṁdru, okoru, okoṁḍru, okkaru, okkaṁḍru, okkoru, okkoṁḍru, okarulu, okaḷulu, okaḷḷu, okomlu, okoḷulu, okoḷḷu, okkarulu, okkaḷulu, okkaḷḷu, okkorulu, okkoḷulu, okkoḷḷu*, corresponding to Tamil, *oruvar*: and the forms *oṁḍu, okaṭi, okoṭi, okkaṭi, okkoṭi, okaṁḍu, okoṁḍu, okkaṁḍu, okkoṁḍu* corresponding to Tamil, *oṉṟù*. Similarly Telugu uses *iddaṟu iruguru* corresponding to Tamil, *iruvar*: *reṁḍu* corresponding Tamil *iraṇṭù*: *mūguru, mugguru* corresponding to Tamil, *mūvar*: and *mūḍu* corresponding to Tamil *mūṉṟù*.

2·2444. Malayalam has *oruvan, oruttan* corresponding to Tamil, *oruvaṉ*: *orutti, oruvaḷ* corresponding to Tamil, *orutti* and *oruvaḷ, onnu* corresponding to Tamil, *oṉṟù*: *iruvar, mūvar* corresponding to Tamil, *iruvar, mūvar, iraṇṭu, raṇṭu* corresponding to Tamil, *iraṇṭù*: and *mūnnù* corresponding to Tamil, *mūṉṟù*.

2·245. Indefinite pronouns are those which refer to objects more than one. They correspond to English words *many*, *a few* etc. Hence they are plural in form They may be *uyartiṇai* or *aḵṟiṇai* according as they refer to the former or the latter.

2·2451. In Tamil such pronouns are *palar*, *cilar*, *palla*, *pala*, *cilla* and *cila*. *Pala* and *cila* take the flexional increment *vaṟṟu* before case suffixes. In later Tamil expressions like *pala makkaḷ* and *cila makkaḷ* in place of *palar makkaḷ* and *cilar makkaḷ* have come to stay.

2·2452. In Old Kannaḍa the forms corresponding to Tamil *palar* are *palavar*, *palabar*, *palambar* and *palar*, *pallavar* and those corresponding to *cilar* are *kelavar*, *kelabar*, *kelambar* and *kelar* and those corresponding to Tamil *pala* and *cila* are *pala* and *kela*. In Mod. Kannada the forms are *palavaru* and *palavarugaḷu* corresponding to Tamil *palar*: *kelavaru* and *kelavarugaḷu* corresponding to Tamil *cilar*: *palavu* and *palavugaḷu* corresponding to Tamil *pala*: and *kelavu* and *kelavugaḷu* corresponding to Tamil *cila*. Old Kannaḍa *pala* and *kela* took the flexional increment *ar* before case-suffixes and Mod. Kannaḍa *palvu* and *kelavu* take *ar* or *aru* before case-suffixes.

2·2453. Telugu has *komdaru* and *konnī* corresponding to *Tamil cilar* and *cila* and has *paluguru* and *palugumḍru* corresponding to *Tamil palar*. It has no form corresponding to *Tamil pala*; hence it seems the word *paluguru* itself is used instead.

2·2454. Malayalam has *palar*, *cilar*, *pala*, and *cila* as *Tamil*. *Pala* and *cila* are used instead of *palar* and *cilar* in expressions like *pala janaññaḷ* and *cila āḷukaḷ*.

2·246. *Collective pronouns* are those which mean *all*. Since it denotes more than two objects, it has only plural forms.

2·2461. *Tamil*. In Ancient Tamil *ellārum* was epicene plural in the third person, *ellīrum*, the epicene plural in the second person, *ellām*, the epicene plural in the first person and neuter plural. In the oblique cases they assumed the forms *ellārtammaiyum*, *ellārtammāṉum*, *ellārtammoṭum*, *ellārtamakkum*,

ellārtamminum, ellārtammatum, ellārtamminkaṇṇum, ellīrnummaiyum, ellīrnummāṉum, ellīrnummoṭum, ellīrnumakkum, ellīrnumminum, ellīrnummatum, ellīrnumminkaṇṇum; ellānammaiyum, ellānammāṉum, ellānammoṭum, ellānamminum, ellānammatum, ellānamminkaṇṇum; ellāvaṟṟaiyum, ellāvaṟṟāṉum, ellāvaṟṟoṭum, ellāvaṟṟiṟkum, ellāvaṟṟiṉum, ellāvaṟṟatum, ellāvaṟṟiṉkaṇṇum. In post Tolkāppiyaṉ-period, *ellīrum* became obsolete and it was replaced by *ellārum.* Both *ellārum* and its modified form *ellōrum* and *ellām*, began to be used after *uyartiṇai* nouns in the nominative case: *viz,*

nām ellārum vandōm
nām ellōrum vandōm
nām ellām vandōm
nīṅgaḷ ellārum vandīrhaḷ
nīṅgaḷ ellōrum vandīrhaḷ
nīṅgaḷ ellām vandīrhaḷ
avargaḷ ellārum vandaṉar
avargaḷ ellōrum vandaṉar
avargaḷ ellām vandaṉar

Such expressions as *irappār ellārtammaiyum* were replaced by *irappārai-y-ellām.* (Kuṟaḷ 1067)

The oblique cases *ellārtammaiyum, ellārtammāṉum,* etc. *ellānammaiyum, ellānammāṉum* etc., were replaced by *ellāraiyum, ellārāṉum,* etc. The oblique cases of the neuter plural *ellām* remain even now as they were in the ancient period. They are :— *ellāvaṟṟaiyum, ellāvaṟṟāṉum, ellavaṟṟoṭum, ellāvaṟṟiṟkum, ellāvaṟṟiṉum, ellāvaṟṟiṉatum, ellāvaṟṟiṉkaṇṇum.*

Aṉaivarum and *aṉaittum* are also used in the place of *ellārum* and *ellām.*

2·2462. In Kannaḍa the forms of the epicene plural in the different cases both in the ancient and modern periods are as follows :—

	Ancient	Modern
First case	ellavar	ellaru, ellarugaḷu, ellā
Second case	ellarum	ellara, ellarugaḷa. ellā
Third case	ellarim	ellarimda, ellarugaḷimda
Fourth case	ellarge, ellarige	ellarige, ellarugaḷige
Fifth case	ellar·attaṇim	elIaradeseyinda, ellarugaḷadeseyinda
Sixth case	ellara	ellara, ellarugaḷa
Seventh case	ellandadoḷam	ellaralli, ellarugaḷalli

In expressions where the collective pronoun follows the noun, the form *ellā* is used in all oblique cases. *viz, avarannellānōḍu*; *avarindellā*; *avarigellā koḍu* etc.

The forms of the neuter plural in the different cases both in the Ancient and Modern periods are as follows :—

	Ancient	Modern
First case	ellam	ellavu, ellavugaḷu, ellā
Second case	ellavam	ellavu, ellavugaḷa, ellā
Third case	ellavaṟim	ellavarinda, ellavugaḷinda
Fourth case	ellakku, ellake, ellakke	ellavakke, ellavugaḷige, ellakke
Fifth case	ellaṟattaṇim	ellavaradeseyinda, ellavugaḷadeseyinda
Sixth case	ellavaṟa	ellavara, ellavugaḷa
Seventh case	ellavaṟoḷ	ellavaralli, ellavugaḷalli

Anibar and *anitu* are also used in the place of *ellavar* and *ellam*.

2·2463. In Telugu the words in the epicene plural are *āmdaṟu* and *aṃdōru* and the neuter plural is *anni*.

2·2464 In Malayalam *ellāvarum* is the epicene plural and *ellām* and *ellāvum* are the neuter plurals. These are so used if they follow the nouns as in *janaṅṅaḷ ellāvarum*. But only the form *ellā* is used if it precedes the nouns.

Dr. Gundert gives the form *ellāvanum* also. This form is a peculiar one since the stem refers to *more than one object* and the suffix *n* refers to one male human being.

2·247. Reflexive pronouns have different forms only in singular and plural. They are used with both rational nouns and irrational uouns.[1]

2·2471. *Singular* :—

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
First case				
	tāṉ	O. tāṁ M. tānu	tānu	tān
Second case				
	taṉṉai	O. tannam M. tannu tannannu	tanu tannu tananu tannunu	tanne
Third case				
	taṉṉāṉ taṉṉoṭŭ	O. tannim M. tanninda	tanacētanu tanatōḍanu	tannāl
Fourth case				
	taṉakkŭ	O. tanage M. tanage	tanakayi	tanakŭ
Fifth case				
	taṉṉiṉ	O. tannat-taṇim M. tanna-deseyinda	tanavalana	tannilninnu
Sixth case				
	taṉatŭ taṉa	O. tanna M. tanna	tanaku	tanuṭe
Seventh case				
	taṉkaṇ etc.	O. tannoḷ M. tannalli	tanayandu	tannil

1. *Cf.* Tāṉ-eṉ kiḷavi y-orumai-k k-urittē (Tol. Col. 184)
Tām-eṉ kiḷavi paṉmai-k k-urittē (*ibid*. 183)
It is interesting to note that *tāru* is said to be the plural form in Kui and *tānu* and *tāru* refer only to the third person. (An introduction to the Grammar of the Kui or Kandh Language by Lingum Letchmajee p. 14.)

2·2472. *Plural* :—

		Tam.	**Kan.**	**Tel.**	**Mal.**
First case					
	O.	tām	tām	tāmu	
				tāru	tām
	M.	tām[1]	tāvu	tamaru	
Second case					
	O.	tammai	tammaṁ		
	M.	tammai	tamma tammannu	tammunu	tamme
Third case					
	O.	tammāṉ tammoṭŭ	tammiṁ		
	M.	tammāl tammoṭu	tamminda	tamacētanu tamatōḍanu	tammāl
Fourth case					
	O.	tamakkŭ	tamage	tamakayi	tamakkŭ
	M.	tamakkŭ	tamage		
Fifth case					
	O.	tammiṉ	tammattaṇim		
	M.	tammiṉ	tamma- deseyinda	tamavalana	tammilninnu
Sixth case					
	O.	tamatŭ	tamma		
	M.	tamatŭ tama	tamma	tamaku	tamuṭe
Seventh case					
	O.	taṅkaṇ	tammoḷ		
	M.	taṅkaṇ tammiṭam etc.	tammalli	tamayaṁdu	tammil

1. In Modern Tamil the form *tāṅgaḷ* is used in the sense of *niṅgaḷ*; the former is used with reference to most honorable persons as honorific singular. It is followed by a verb in the second person plural, *viz.* *tāṅgaḷ eppōdu vandirhaḷ*; some people even use the expression *taṅgaḷ eppōdu vandadŭ.* In Malayalam also the forms *taṅṅaḷ*, *tāṅkaḷ* and *tammaḷ* are used.

2·25. *Numerals.* From the foregoing 2·244 which deals with numeral pronouns, it seems there were no words in P. D. to denote the numbers one, two, three etc. There were roots which were of a pronominal type which meant one, two, three etc. and the rational and irrational terminations were added to them to denote one object, two objects, three objects etc. of the rational class and the irrational class. The expressions like *iru-peyar* are compound nouns. Hence Dr. Caldwell's statement, "In the Dravidian languages each of the cardinal numbers presents itself to us in a twofold shape. The first and probably the more primitive form is that of numeral adjectives; the second or more largely used is that of numeral substantives or neuter nouns of number[1]" (C. D. G. p. 321) needs revision.

2·251. In Modern Tamil *oṉṟŭ, iraṇḍŭ* etc. are counted as numbers, but in sentences where they are used they mean one object, two objects etc. The so-called ordinals in Tamil (*i.e.*) *oṉṟāvadŭ*, or *oṉṟām, iraṇḍāvadu* or *iraṇḍām etc.* are all periphrastic formations made up of *oṉṟŭ, iraṇḍŭ* etc. and *āvadu* or *ām* (the abbreviated form of *āhum*). Similarly the numeral adverbs *iru-muṟai, mummuṟai* etc. are compound nouns in the seventh case with the case-suffix dropped.

2·252. In Kannaḍa *eraḍaneyam* and *irme* are used corresponding to Tamil *iraṇḍāvadŭ* and *iru-muṟai* respectively.

2·253. Telugu uses *reṇḍava* and *iru-māṟu* corresponding to Tamil *iraṇḍāvadŭ* and *iru-muṟai* respectively.

2·254. Malayalam uses *raṇṭām* and *raṇṭāmatŭ* corresponding to Tamil *iraṇḍām* and *iraṇḍāvadŭ* and *irumuṟa* corresponding to Tamil *irumuṟai*.

1. *Iraṇṭŭ, mūṉṟŭ* etc. may be called neuter nouns of number, but not *iruvar, mūvar* etc.

2·3. *Verb morphology.*

2·31. *General characteristics* :—Verb morphology in Primitive Dravidian, unlike that in Indo-European parent language, should have been very simple in character. From a study of Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam, it is possible to infer that Primitive Dravidian should have *four moods*—indicative, imperative, potential and infinitive, *three tenses*—past, present and future, *two voices*—affirmative and negative, three persons—first, second and third and *five gender-numbers*—masculine singular, feminine singular, epicene plural, neuter singular and neuter plural. Imperative mood had reference only to the second person, singular and plural and potential mood only to the third person; the latter had the same form in all gender-numbers. Verbs in the infinitive mood had the same form in all persons and gender-numbers, though they had different forms in different tenses. Verbs in the indicative mood alone had different forms in different tenses, different voices and different gender-numbers With regard to tense, even though *tense-values*, might have been recognised as three, it is not necessary that there should have been different *tense-signs*.[1] This is seen from the study of Tolkāppiyam Its author says that there are three tenses-past[2], present and future, but does not mention any suffix denoting tense. He mentions at the same time that the past tense is used to denote either the present or the future, when such actions take place immediately[3] and that the past and the present tenses are used to denote the future for the sake of clearness.[4] In course of time the verbal system in the separate languages became a little complex by the creation of numerous new formations. Passive voice should have been a new addition since verbs in the passive voice in the different languages are periphrastic formations and passive idea was expressed in the oldest periods without taking recourse to passive form.

1. H. G. T. p. 167.
2. Tol. Col. 199 & 200 Ś. M. D. s. 220; Ā. Ś. c. 5·3, K. P. p. 222.
3. *ibid.* 241.
4. *ibid.* 245.

2·32. *Classification* :—

2·321. Verbs are primarily classified into two :—Ordinary verbs and appellative verbs ; the former are those which are formed by adding personal terminations to roots with or without some affix to denote tense between them ; and the latter are those which are formed by adding personal terminations to nouns. Tolkāppiyaṉār calls the latter by the term *kuṟippuviṉai* and does not give any special name to the former, while the later grammarians call it *terinilai–viṉai.* The appellative verbs are found only in the indicative mood both in the affirmative and negative voices. *viz.*, Tamil *āṟṟalēṉ* ('I have strength) ; *āṟṟal-il-ēṉ* (I have no strength). O. Kannaḍa *oḷḷidem* Mod Kannaḍa *oḷḷidenu.*

2·322. Verbs are also divided into two other classes from a different stand-point :—simple verbs and causal verbs. These two classes are found only in *terinilai-viṉai* and not *kuṟippu-viṉai.* They are named in Tamil *taṉ-viṉai* and *piṟa-viṉai.* *Taṉ-viṉai* is that which has for its subject the doer of the action denoted by the root of the verb and *piṟaviṉai* is that which has for its object, one other than the doer of the action denoted by the root of the verb. For instance in the Tamil sentence *avaṉ. kaṭṭiṉāṉ* (he built), *kaṭṭiṉāṉ* is *taṉviṉai* since it has *avaṉ* the person who built, for its subject ; in the sentence *avaṉ kaṭṭuvittāṉ*, *kaṭṭuvittāṉ* is *piṟaviṉai* since the person denoted by *avaṉ* did not build it. Dr. Caldwell seems to think that *taṉ-viṉai* and *piṟa-viṉai* respectively correspond to Sanskrit *ātmanēpada* and *parasmāipada.*[1] But the basis of the classification of *taṉviṉai* and *piṟa-viṉai* is entirely different from that of *ātmanēpada* and *parasmāipada* :—*taṉ-viṉai* denotes an action done by the person or thing denoted by its subject, while *piṟa-viṉai* denotes an action done by one other than the person denoted by the subject ; but in Sanskrit, if a root can take both *ātmanēpada and parasmāipada* terminations, the former are used when the result of the action goes to the doer and the latter when it goes to some one other than the doer.

1. C. D. G. 449.

2·3221. *How are causal verbs formed?*

2·32211. Causals in Tamil are formed in many ways; (1) by doubling the final consonant of the root *e. g, ōṭṭiṉāṉ* (from *ōṭu*—to run); (2) by doubling the consonant of the formative, *e. g. pōkkiṉāṉ* (from *pō* to go); (3) by doubling the initial consonant of the signs of tense, *e. g. cērttāṉ* (from *cēr*, to reach) (4) by adding *vi* or *pi* to the root, *e. g. ceyvittāṉ* (from *cey*, to do)[1]

2·32212. In Kannaḍa *isu* is added to the root *e. g. nagisidam* (he made another laugh).

2·32213. In Telugu *iñcu* is added to the root *e. g. viḍicenu.*

2·32214. In Malayalam *i* and *pi* are added to roots, *e. g. cērppikkinnu* (he makes it reach)

2·33 *Moods.* Of the four moods—indicative, imperative, optative and infinitive, the indicative alone plays a large part. It is the only mood in which both ordinary verbs and appellative verbs are found. The latter are not used in the imperative, potential and infinitive moods.

2·331. *Indicative mood.* Verbs in the indicative mood are formed by adding to the root the personal terminations. Sometimes they are directly added to the root-noun as in appellative verbs and sometimes they are added to stems made up of roots and some affixes.

2·3311 *Personal terminations.* The first person singular and plural, the second person singular and plural and third person *āṇpāl, peṇpāl, palarpal, oṉraṉpāl and palaviṉpāl* have all different personal terminations. In course of time they two have undergone some changes, both in form and meaning; some have become obsolete in the modern period; some new forms have crept in.

1. H. G. T. pp. 146-9.

2·33111. *First person singular terminations :—*

	Tam	Kan	Tel	Mal
O.	eṉ, ēṉ, al, kū, ṭū, tū, ṟū [1]	en [3]		
M.	eṉ, ēṉ, al, aṉ, kū, ṭū, tū, ṟū [2]	enu, ēnu, ēne [4]	nu [5], ni [6]	ēn [7], an [8 and 9]

2·331111. Among the Tamil terminations, the commentators on Tolkāppiyam state that *eṉ* and *ēṉ* above are used in all the three tenses and *kū, ṭū, tū, ṟū* and *al* are used only in the future tense[10] Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar adds that *al* is sometimes used in the verbs denoting present tense also as in the word *uṇṇā-niṟpal* (I eat). The commentator on Vīracōḻiyam states that *al* denotes the determination of the speaker. In the literature of the Sangam period, though *al* is generally used in verbs denoting future tense, yet there are instances where it is found in verbs denoting past tense also, (*e. g.*) *kaṇṭaṉeṉ varuval* (I came to see—P, N. 23, 17) and *uvakai-yoṭu varuval* (I came eagerly—P. N. 165, 14). But in all the instances, the determination of the speaker is implied. Hence the opinion of the commentator of

1. Tol. Col. 203.
2. Naṉ. 331.
3. Ś. M. D. s. 116.
4. *Enu* is used in the past tense. *ēnu,* in the future tense and *ēne* in the present tense. G. M. C. pp. 55 and 56.
5. Ā. Ś. C. 5, 17.
6. *Ni* is used in the past tense. T. B. V. pp. 92, 93.
7. Urappēn (R. C. 20)
8. Kaṭuppan (*ibid* 25); the author of the Kēraḷapaṇinīyam has not mentioned it.
9. Malayāḷam puruṣapratyayaṅṅaḷe sarvathā nirasiccitṭalla; atukaḷe kavikaḷ dhārāḷam upayōgiccitṭumuṇṭu; cilar eṅkilum innum upayōgikkunnum uṇṭū. (K. P. p. 251)
10. Tol. Col 203 Cēṉā.

Vīracōḻiyam seems to be more satisfactory. This may perhaps be the reason why Tolkāppiyaṉār has not mentioned the element that denotes tense signs and the particular terminations that are used after them. The termination *aṉ* is not mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṉār. But it is found in Puṟanāṉūṟù and in later literature *e. g. uraittaṉaṉ yāṉ* (P. N. 136. 22). Hence it seems that the author of Vīracōḻiyam mentions it. The author of *Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam* states that it is used in verbs denoting past tense. The example *uraittaṉaṉ* cited above denotes onlypast tense.

2·331112. The origin of this *aṉ* may be explained in three ways:—(1) it may be identical with the third person *āṇpāl aṉ*. From the tendency to use third person to denote the speaker possibly out of modesty, this may have been originally used to denote first person in *sense* though, in *form*, it may have been taken as third person *āṇpāl* and afterwards the form itself may have been mistaken for that of the first person; (2) the third personal termination *aṉ* itself may have been used originally both for the third and the first person at the beginning of the formation of the language and these instances may be the survivals of such prehistoric usage; (3) it may be the metamorphosed form of *al* as the case-suffixes *āl* and *il* are of *āṉ* and *iṉ*.

2·331113. *The origin of kù, ṭù, tù, and ṟù*. Of these four, the last three belong to the third person neuter singular also. Ēṉ in verbs like *uṇkēṉ, uṇṭēṉ, tantēṉ, ceṉṟēṉ*, and *atu* in *uṇṭatù, tantatù* and *ceṉṟatù* mght have been dropped as in Mod. Malayalam since their meanings were expressed by *yāṉ* and *atu* and consequently the forms *uṇkù, uṇṭù, tantù* aad *ceṉṟù* might have come into existence and then *kù, ṭù, tù*, and *ṟù* might have been considered to be the personal terminations.

23311131. Iḷampūraṇar, the earliest extant commentator on Tolkāppiyam, states that all the above forms are used only in the future tense.[1] Naṉṉūlār takes that *ṟù* and *tù* denote the past and the future, *ṭù*, the past and *kù*, the future tense.[2]

1. Tol. Col. 203 Iḷam.
2. Naṉ. 145.

Cēṉāvaraiyar agrees with Iḷampūraṇar. Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar states with caution that all the four *mostly* denote the future tense. The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam agrees with Iḷampūraṇar.[1]

2331114. *The origin of al*:—*Al* is one of the suffixes used to form verbal nouns. *viz*., *ōṭal*, *pōkal*, *uṟaṅkal* etc. In these cases either the final *ù* is dropped or some particle *kù* is inserted between the root and *al* and *ù* is dropped. The verb forms derived from the same roots are *ōṭuval*, *pōval*, *uṟaṅkuval* etc. Here the intervocalic *v* is inserted between the roots and the suffix. Perhaps expressions like *yāṉ ōṭuval* was used for *yāṉ ōṭuval ceyvēṉ* in the same way as the expression *avaṉ varal* was used for *avaṉ varal vēṇṭum*; then *ōṭuval* might have been considered the verb in the same way as *varal* is considered to be a verb in the potential mood.

2·331115. *Origin of eṉ and ēṉ*:—Without fear of contradiction *ēṉ* may be considered the lengthened form of *eṉ*. Besides, in the ancient period *eṉ* was more frequently used than *ēṉ*; whenever it was used some flexional increment like *aṉ* was used *cf*. *kaṇṭaṉeṉ* (I found–P. N. 23, 17).

It may be interesting to consider about the formation of the forms like *kaṇṭaṉeṉ*. *Kāṇ* is the root, *aṉ* is the increment and *eṉ* is the personal termination. Perhaps *ṭ* was introduced after *ṇ* to facilitate pronunciation and *ā* was shortened to *a*. This augment *ṭ* might, later on, be considered as the tense affix. The history of the other past-tense suffixes *t* and *ṟ* may have been the same.

In forms like *uṟaṅkiṉēṉ*, *tēṭiṉēṉ*, the flexional increment *iṉ* itself began to be considered as a past-tense affix. Words like *varuti* are used in future tense in Puṟanāṉūṟù etc. This *eṉ* and the oblique case-stem of the first personal pronoun singular are identically the same. The earlier philologists who held the agglutination theory considered the verbal terminations to be pronouns. If we can satisfactorily explain the origin of *eṉ* in *eṉṉai*, *eṉakkù*

1, I. V. 50.

etc., we can very safely agree with them. But no one till now has satisfactorily explained it. Hence it seems to me that it is safer to assume that the oblique case-stem came into existence after the verbs were analysed into stem and verbal terminations and after the need for pronouns was sadly felt to avoid the repetition of the nouns.

2·331116. The O. Kannaḍa *en*, and the Mod. Kannaḍa *enu*, *ēnu* and *ēne* are closely related to Tamil *eṉ* and *ēṉ*. The Telugu *nu* and *ni* preserve the *n* corresponding to the *ṉ* of *eṉ* and Malayalam *ēn* and *an* correspond to Tamil *ēṉ* and *aṉ*.

2·331117, *What is the origin of ṉ in eṉ ?* Tolkāppiyaṉār states that the pronouns and verbs of the first person are *uyartiṇai*[1] and verbs with *ṉ* at their end are *āṇpāl*[2]. This makes us infer that the forms like *kaṇṭaṉeṉ* might have been originally used by men and later on adopted by women also. The same could have been the reason that *yāṉ* was used as *peṇpāl* also. By way of comparison one may note that, in the declension of the word *asmat* in Sanskrit, forms like *asmān* are masculine, and forms like *mayā*, *asmābhiḥ* etc. are feminine.

2.331118. Of the above eight terminations, *kù*, *ṭù*, *tù* and *ṟù* have become obsolete both in literatnre and in speech, and *al*, *aṉ* and *eṉ* have become obsolete in speech. In Mod. Tamil only *ēṉ* is used in speech and *eṉ* is sometimes used in literature. A close study of Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam literature reveals that *kù*, *ṭù*, *tù* and *ṟù* became obsolete long before they became separated from their eldest sister-Tamil.

1. Tol. Col. 162 and 201—204.
2, *Ibid* 5 and 10.

2·33112. *First person plural terminations.*

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
O.	am, ām,			
	em, ēm,	eṁ		
	kum, ṭum,	evu		
	tum, ṟum			
M.	am, ām		mu	ām [1]
	em, ēm	evu	mi	ōm
	ōm, ēṅkaḷ	ēvu		
	kum, ṭum	ēve		
	tum, ṟum			

2·331121. Among the terminations in Tamil, *am* and *ām* are, according to Iḷampūraṇar, Cēṉāvaraiyar and Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, used when the subject denotes the speaker and the person spoken to, or the speaker, the person spoken to and a third person, and *em* and *ēm* when it denotes the speaker and a third party [2]. Naṉṉūlār says the same, but adds *ōm* also to the latter list [3]. The author of Ilakkaṇaviḷakkam agrees with Naṉṉūlār. The author of Vīracōḻiyam mentions only *ēm* and *ōm*. Tolkāppiyaṉār has not mentioned any difference between the use of *am*, *ām* and *em*, *ēm*; and such a difference is not seen in the other sister languages. It is, therefore, evident that the difference crept in after the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār. Since Tolkāppiyaṉār states that only *āṉ*, *āḷ* and *ār* may be changed to *ōṉ*, *ōḷ* and *ōr*, [4] it has to be inferred that *ām* became *ōm* through analogy with *āṉ—ōṉ*, *āḷ—ōḷ* and *ār—ōr*. But Cēṉāvaraiyar thinks that *ōm* was a modification of *ēm*. [5]

2·331122. *Ēṅkaḷ* is evidently a double plural and it is found in Cīvakacintāmaṇi *Cf.* *uṇṭēṅkaḷ* (we ate—1795).

1. *Cf.* parukiṉṟōm (R. C. 32).
2. Tol. Col. 202 Cēṉā.
3. Naṉ. 332.
4. Tol. Col. 211.
5. Vantōm, ceṉṟōm, eṉa vaḻakkiṉuḷ varuvaṉavō eṉiṉ avai ēm-iṟṟiṉ citaivu eṉa maṟukka (Tol. Col. 211 Cēṉā.)

2·331122. *Kum, ṭum, tum, ṟum.* Whatever is said of *kù, ṭù, tù* and *ṟù* applies to these four.

2·331123. In colloquial speech of the modern day, only the terminations *ōm* and *ēṅga* or *ēṅgō*, the modified forms of *ēṅkal* are used. *Ēṅga* or *ēṅgō* are used only by the uneducated people. The latter form is mentioned by M. J. Vinson on page 19, J. A. Dixie Serie Tome 17.

2·331124. *Origin of em* and *ēm, am* and *ām. Ēm* is evidently the lengthened form of *em.* This *em* is identical with *em*, the oblique case stem of the first person plural pronoun. *Ām* is also the lengthened form of *am.* What can be the origin of this *am*? Scholars may consider whether the verbs like *kaṇṭaṉam* were analysed into *kaṇṭù + aṉ + am* instead of *kaṇṭù + aṉ + nam.* If the latter was the correct analysis, then this *nam* also is identical with *nam*, the second oblique case stem.

2·331125. The old Kannaḍa *eṁ* transformed itself into *evu* later on; for in old Kannaḍa both final *n* and final *m* were represented by anusvāra. Hence there was confusion between the singular and the plural. Since it is one of the important duties of the language to avid confusion, the plural form was converted into *evu* by changing the labial *m* into a labio-dental *v* and later on an enunciative *u* was added in the same way as in Telugu. In Modern Kannaḍa the termination *ēve* also began to be used; it is formed by adding the particle *e* to *evu.* The *m* of *em* and *am* is preserved in the Telugu forms *mu* and *mi.* Since the law of the vocalic harmony plays the largest part in Telugu, the previous vowel *e* and *a* were so modified that they were not recognised to be a part of the termination, but they were considered to be a part of the element inserted before the termination [1]. Malayalam *ām* and *ōm* correspond to Tamil *ām* and *ōm.*

1. T. B. V. pp. 92 and 93
Liṭṭu vuññu paraṁbagunapuḍu *ṭi*varṇakambagu
läṭṭuruññu pārambagunapuḍu *du*gāgamambagu

2·33113. *Second person singular terminations.*

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
O.	i, ai, āy, ōy	ay	vu	ay
M.	i. ai āy, ōy	i, īye e	vi	āy [1]

2·331131. The Tamil grammarians recognise that the verbs of the second person are used both as *uyartiṇai* and *a∴ṛiṇai.* Of the four terminations in Tamil *i* and *ai* are more frequently used in the ancient works and *āy*, in the later works; the form *ōy* is generally current in literature and not in ordinary speech. In the colloquial speech of the modern day only *āy* is frequently used. The vowel *i* is found in *niṉ*, the oblique case-form of the second person singular pronoun.

2·331132. Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa mentions *ay* to be the second person singular termination, while Krishnamacharya in his Grammar of the Modern Canarese Language mentions *i, īye* and *e* as the terminations. *Ay* corresponds to Tamil *ai*, since *ai*, in some places, exchanges with *ay* even in Tamil [2]. I am at a loss to know why he has not mentioned *i*; it could not have crept, all on a sudden, in the modern period. *Īye* should have been formed by lengthening *i* to *ī* and adding *e* at the end; evidently the intervocalic *y* should have been inserted between them. The origin of *e* may be explained thus :—the form *nuḍidi* was used in the past tense; since there was a tendency to add *e* at the end, it might have been added to *nuḍidi* so that *nuḍidiye* might have been formed; by haplology it might have reduced itself to the form *nuḍide*; and later on *e* might have been considered as the personal termination.

2·331133. Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi says in S. 17 that *vu* is the second person singular termination. In the past tense we

1. *Connāy* (R. C. 84)
2. Tol. Eḻut. 56.

have the form *vaṇḍitivi* where *ti* is considered to be an augment.[1] It seems to me that this is a relic which tells us the old stage of the second person singular termination. *Vaṇḍiti+i* might have become *vaṇḍitivi* with the intervocalic *v*; later on it might have been taken as a part of the termination. Since the law of the vowel-harmony has played a large part in Telugu, forms like *vaṇḍuduvi* might have been changed to *vaṇḍuduvu*[2] and *vu* might have been considered by the descriptive grammarians as the termination in general and *vi* its modification. Hence P. D. *i* metamorphosed to *vi* and *vu* in Telugu and the latter began to be the general form of it.

2·331134. Kēraḷapāṇinīyam states that *ay* remains as the second person singular termination in some districts.[3]

2·33114. *Second person plural terminations:—*

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
O.	ir, īr			
M.	ir, īr			
	īrkaḷ	ir	ru	īr
	īṅgaḷ	iri	ri	
	īṅga	īri		
	īṅgo			
	(colloq.)			

2·331141. Wherever in Tamil *ir* is used, it is generally preceded by the flexional increment *aṉ* *Cf. vantaṉir*. *Īr* is evidently the lengthened form of *ir*. It is a peculiarity to be noted that this termination has absolutely no connection with *num*, the oblique case-form of the second person plural pronoun; both the vocalic element and the final consonantal element are different in both *num* and *ir*. This gives room to doubt whether the second person plural pronoun was later in origin, since the *r* of *ir* agrees with *r* of the third person and the

1. It may be noted that *vaṇḍitivi* is reduced to *vaṇḍiti* also.
2. *Vaṇḍuduvu* is reduced to *vaṇḍudu* also.
3. K. P. p. 25.

second person plural is used to denote the person spoken to and the person spoken of. *Īrkaḷ* is a case of double plural. At present *ir* is extinct; *īr* is used in the honorific singular alone and *īrkaḷ* and its modified forms *īṅga* and *īṅgo* are used in plural and sometimes in the honorific singular. The forms *īṅga* and *īṅgo* are used only by uneducated people.

The *ṅ* in *īṅga* and *īṅgo* may be due to the analogy of *ṅ* in *ēṅga* (*vandēṅga*) or may have replaced *r* in *īrkaḷ* through economy of effort. The form *īṅgo* is mentioned by M. J. Vinson in his J. A. Dixieme Series, Tome 17, p. 189.

2·331142. The forms *iri* and *īri* in Mod. Kannaḍa is only the modified forms of *ir* of old Kannaḍa by adding the enunciative *i* at the end and by lengthening the vowel *i*.

2·331143. Telugu preserves *r* of *ir* in *ri* and *rù*. The vocalic element of *ir* has been taken by grammarians to belong to the stem and *r* is followed by the enunciative *u* or *i*.

2·331144. Kēraḷapāṇinīyam mentions *ūr*.

2·33115. *Third person masc. sing. termination.*

	Tam.	Kan	Tel.	Mal.
O.	aṉ, āṉ ōṉ	aṁ		
M.	aṉ, āṉ, ōṉ	anu ānu āne	nu [1] ṁḍu	an [2] ān [3]

2·331151. Of the three terminations *aṉ*, *āṉ* and *ōṉ* in Tamil, *āṉ* is evidently the lengthened from of *aṉ* and *ōṉ* is the poetic form of *āṉ*. The termination *aṉ* is generally preceded by the flexional increment *aṉ* (*e. g.*) *aṭṭaṉaṉ*; it is sometimes used

1. *Cf. vaṁḍenu* (past), vaṁḍunu (aorist); vaṁḍucunnāṁḍu (present), vaṁdaṁgalaṁḍu.
2. *Cf.* moḻintanan (R. C. 11).
3. Aṟiyiccān (*ibid.* 65.)

without it *e. g.*, *uḷaṉ, ilaṉ, uṭaiyaṉ* etc. In colloquial Tamil only *āṉ* is used. If we carefully observe how the word *vandāṉ* is pronounced in the sentence *avaṉ vandāṉ*, we see that *ṉ* of *vandāṉ* is dropped, and the previous *ā* is nasalised. Tolkāppiyaṉār has clearly stated that *ṉ* is the element that denotes the masc· singular and *a* is the pronominal root.[1]

2·331152. The old Kannaḍa *aṁ* was only *an* written with anusvāra at the end in the place of *n*. The Mod. Kannaḍa *anu* is the modified form of *an* with the enunciative vowel *u*; *ānu* is similarly the modified form *āṉ* and *āne* is formed by adding the particle *e* at the end. *Āne* is a formation made up of a termination and a particle, which, later on, began to be considered as a termination.

2·331153. The Telugu verbs *vaṁḍenu* etc. clearly tells us that *n* was the masc. singular element in Telugu. Evidently through the law of vowel-harmony the *a* of *an* was modified and was taken as a part of the stem. In certain cases *ḍ* was added between *n* and the enunciative *u*, when *n* was changed to *ardhānusvāra*. But descriptive grammarians have taken *ḍu* as the masc. singular termination.

2·331154. Malayalam *an* and *ān* correspond to Tamil *aṉ* and *āṉ*. The author of Kēraḷapāṇinīyam has not mentioned *āṉ* though it is found in Rāmacaritam.

2·33116. *Third person fem. singular termination*:—

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
O.	aḷ, āḷ, ōḷ	aḷ	[2]	aḷ
M.	aḷ, āḷ, ōḷ	aḷu, āḷu, āḷe		āḷ[3]

1. *Cf.* Tol. Col. 5, 205 and Tol. Eḻut 31.
2. Generally the neuter singular form was used; but the forms like *vaṁḍenu* are common to masc. singular, fem. singular and neut. singular.
3. Ura ceytāḷ (R. C. 33)

2·331161. Whatever has been said with respect to the masc. singular termination holds good to the fem. singular termination also, except that there is no trace of *aḷ* in the Telugu fem. singular verbs. In the colloquial speech of to-day *avaḷ vandāḷ* is pronounced as *ava vandā.*

2·33117. *Epicene plural terminations.*

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
O.	ar, ār ōr, pa, mār	ar		
M.	ar, ār, ōr, pa, mār, ārkaḷ āṅga āṅgo (colloq.)	aru āru āre	ru ri	ar [1] ār [1]

2·331171. Of the six terminations in Tamil *ar* was preceded by the flexional increment *aṉ*, *ār* is the lengthened form of *ar*, *ōr* is the poetic form of *ār*, and *ārkaḷ* is a double plural. It is worth noting that *kaḷ* which was originally a pluralising particle of *a∴riṇai* nouns began to be tacked on with the *uyartiṇai* pluralising particles. Such forms of verbs are frequently seen in Tēvāram and Nālāyirappirapantam. *Mār* is seen in the ancient works and it is said by Tolkåppiyaṉār [2] that such verbs are used only to qualify verbs *viz. avar uṇmār vantār* (they came to eat). A doubt may arise that such cases as *uṇmār* may be taken as infinitives; but since *mār* is found as a pluralising particle in words like *nāyaṉmār, tāymār* [3] etc., Tolkāppiyaṉār might have taken *mār* as a pluralising particle in the same way as *ar* and *ār*. In the colloquial speech of the present day, the termination *ār* is used in honorific singular and *ārkaḻ* both in honorific singular and plural. *Āṅga* and *āṅgo* which are the metamorphosed forms of *ārkaḷ* in the same way as *iṅga* and *iṅgo* of *irkaḷ* are used only by uneducated people.

1. *Cf.* uṟaṅṅinar (R. C. 34) niṟaintār (*ibid* 58).
2. Tol. Col. 207.
3. *tāyār* is hon. singular ; *tāyar* and *tāymār* are plurals.

2·331172. Mod. Kannaḍa *aru* is only the old Kannaḍa *ar* with the enunciative *u*; *āru* is the lengthened form of *aru* and *āre* is the combination of *āru* and the particle *e*.

2·331173. Telugu preserves the *r* of *ar*, though the previous vowel has undergone modification and has been considered to belong to the stem; *u* and *i* of *ru* and *ri* are only enunciative vowels. In the forms like *vaṁḍaṁgalaru* and *vaṁḍuduru*, the descriptive grammarians have taken *ru* and *ri* as the personal terminations; even if they have taken *aru* and *ari* as the terminations, the same forms can be arrived at since *a* may be elided after the preceding vowels *a* and *u* as in the combinations·

mēna + alluṁḍu = mēnalluṁḍu,
rāmuḍūḍu + ataṁḍu = rāmuṁḍataṁḍu.

2·331174. Malayalam *ar* and *ār* are identical with Tamil *ar* and *ār*.

2·33118. *Neuter singular terminations :—*

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
O.	ṭŭ, tŭ, ṟŭ	attu, itu ittu, uḍu	du	tŭ[1]
M.	ṭŭ, tŭ, ṟŭ	ade, itu, ītu		

2·331181. Though Tolkāppiyaṉār has stated three terminations in Tamil, yet on comparison with the terminations in the sister languages and on considering the rules of *sandhi* in Tamil, it may safely be said that *tŭ* alone was originally the termination and it was changed to *ṭŭ* and *ṟŭ* in suitable places. But Naṉṉūlār states that *tŭ* and *ṟŭ* denote the past tense; while Cēṉāvaraiyar says that *tŭ* is used after the sign of all the three tenses and *ṟŭ* after that of the past; Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar agrees with the latter. *Tŭ* is generally found in appellative verbs. If we take the verbal forms *kaṇṭatŭ*, we see that an *a* has been introduced before the personal termination. This *a* should have

1. Pukkatŭ (R. C. 34)

been originally a glide used to facilitate pronunciation. Since there were instances like *tīrntaṉṟù* (P. N. 42), where there is no *a*, Tolkāppiyaṉār has recognised that it was a glide and not a demonstrative root. But the oblique case-stem of the neuter singular pronoun is *atu*.

2·331182. In all the Old and Mod. Kannaḍa terminations the element *tu* or *du* is found. The vowel that precedes it is *a, i* or *u* and this is, perhaps, on account of the law of vowel-harmony.

2·331183. Telugu has *du* which is *tu* modified through euphony.

2·331184. Malayalam *tù* is identical with Tamil *tù*.

2·33119. *Neuter plural terminations.*

	Tam.	Kan.	Tel.	Mal.
O.	a, ā va	uvu		
M.	a ā (in the negative	avu āvu ave	vu	

2·331191. Since *va* has *a* as its final element, the later Tamil grammarians have discarded it. Though Tolkāppiyaṉār has used *ā* in the word *ākā* (Tol. Eḻut. 60), yet he has not so mentioned it. Naṉṉūlār was the first grammarian to make mention of it. It is worth considering whether *a* alone was the termination and it was elided after *ā*, the negative particle.

2·331192. Though Mod. Kannaḍa has the *a* element corresponding to Tamil *a*, yet Old Kannaḍa has only u.

2·331193. Originally Telugu should have had *avu* formed by the addition of the enunciative vowel *u* with the intervocalic *v*. Later on *a* should have been mistaken for a part of the stem.

2·3312. Appellative verbs like Tamil *ceṅkōlai* (you have righteous sceptre—P. N. 20), *tuñcā-k-kaṇ-ṇ-a* (have the unsleeping eyes—P. N. 31), *nallaṉ* (is a good man P. N. 66), Kannaḍa *kulavṛddharir* (are old in the family), *ballaṁ* (is strong), *ariyanu* (is an enemy), Telugu *vṛddhuḍanu*, Malayalam, *bhayanāśakan*

etc. are all used only in the indicative mood and are formed by adding the personal terminations directly to the noun-stems. The verbs *uṇṭù, iṉṟù, uṭaiyatù* etc. and their corresponding forms in other persons and numbers in Tamil are considered as appellative verbs. There is nothing in their forms which is indicative of the tense; it is determined either from the context or from the adjuncts.

2·3313. Verbs other than appellative verbs have different forms in the three tenses--past, present and future. In each tense they have different forms according as they are simple verbs or causal verbs. In affirmative voice, both in the active and the passive, they have different forms in the three tenses; but in the negative voice they have only one form. The simple verbs may be first dealt with in all its sub-divisions, and then the causal verbs.

2.33131. *Simple verbs* have to be classified into active affirmative simple verb—past, present and future—passive affirmative simple verb—past, present and future, active negative simple verb and passive negative simple verb.

2·331311. *Active affirmative simple verb.*

2·3313111. *Past tense.* A careful study of the literature of Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam reveals that the past tense was the oldest of the tenses and two elements *t* and *i* were considered by the grammarians connected with the past time, tho' originally they might not have anything to do with it.

2·33131111. *Tamil.* Tolkāppiyaṉār does not state any tense-affix, though he had recognised the existence of three tenses and the practice of using one tense in place of another to denote some specific purpose. The reason for it is that he could not specifically mention any affix which absolutely denoted one tense. But the later grammarians like Naṉṉūlār have stated that *t* is a past-tense affix. Consider the forms *iṟatti* (you go), *varuti* (you come), *ḷitti* (you conceal yourself) etc. in the eighth stanza of Puṟanāṉūṟù; they have the element *t*, but all of them denote present tense. Similarly *naṭatti* in (P. N. 22) is future in tense.

Reduplication of the final consonant of the roots was one of the devices to show the past action. *Cf.* Tamil *pukkaṉar* (they entered—Cilap—342-196). Kannaḍa *pokkar* (Ś M D. p. 345), Malayalam *pukkŭ* (R. C. 22). But in later Tamil the form *pukkaṉar* became obsolete and was replaced by *pukuntaṉar*. Hence we may assume that the oldest method of showing the past tense was by reduplicating the final consonant of roots. The roots which end in *ŭ* take *iṉ* after them before the personal terminations are added to them *viz* *ŭraṅkiṉar*, *ōṭiṉar* etc. This *iṉ* now seems to me to be none other than the flexional increment *iṉ*. But Naṉṉūlār takes it to be an affix denoting past tense. The same is the case with the root *pō viz. pōyiṟṟŭ*, *pōyiṉa*; the forms *pōṉāṉ*, *pōṉāḷ* and *pōṉār* seem to be the metamorphosed forms of *pōyiṉāṉ*, *pōyiṉāḷ* and *pōyiṉār*. Similarly *āyiṟṟŭ* and *āyiṉa* show that *āṉāṉ*, *āṉāḷ* and *āṉār* are the metamorphosed forms of *āyināṉ*, *āyināḷ* and *āyinār*. The elements *t*, *ṭ* and *ṟ* are found between roots and personal terminations in forms like *ceytāṉ*, *kaṇṭāṉ* and *ceṉṟāṉ* and hence *Naṉṉūlār* mentions them to be the past tense affixes; *ṭ* and *ṟ* may be considered to be originally *t* modified after *ṇ* and *l* etc. The origin of this *t* is not easy to determine. If we consider the forms *aṟiti*, etc., *t* might have been an element inserted between the two vowels *i* and *i*. In course of time, it might have been observed that *t* was found in most of the verbs which denoted past tense and hence *t* might havt been taken as a past tense sign. Besides in the early Tamil literature the forms *aṟīi* (having known), *irīi* (having been), *tarīi* (having given), *acaii* (having shaken) *koḷīi* (having taken hold) etc. are found and they have been replaced by *aṟintŭ*, *iruntŭ*, *tantŭ*, *acaintŭ*, *koṇṭŭ* etc. in later literature. The roots ending in *ŭ* form even to-day, their indeclinable participle by adding *i* at the end. It is not easy to explain the origin of this *i*.[1] It deserves the consideration of scholars whether it was a part of *iṉ* and the *ṉ* was

1. It now seems to me that my statement " *i* which was originally the modified form of *ŭ* in *sandhi* may have come to be regarded as a part of the past tensē sign " (H. G. T. p. 169) deserves revision.

dropped to avoid the confusion between the indeclinable participle and the ablative infinitive of the type *ceyiṉ* where *iṉ* may be taken to be the fifth case-suffix.

2·33131112. *Kannaḍa.* The author of Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa states that *d* is the past-tense suffix in Old Kannaḍa,[1] that the augment *i* is inserted before *d* if the roots end in *u*, that verbs like *pokkam* (he entered), *nakkam* (he smiled) etc. were in existence[2] and that the past participle suffixes were *u* and *i* as in *nenedu* (corresponding to Tamil *niṉaittŭ*), *nacci* (corresponding to Tamil *nacci*).[3] In *nenedu*, *du* and not *u* has been added. *Du* changed to *ḍu* in verbs like *kaṁḍir*. The Kannada forms *koṭṭaṉu*, *uṭṭanu*, *məṭṭanu* etc. show that even the roots *koṭu*, *uṭu*, *maṭu* formed their past tense by reduplicating the final consonant like the Tamil roots *naku*, *viṭu*, *aṭu*, *iṭu*, *naṭu*, *paṭu*, *cuṭu*, *keṭu*, etc. though they were replaced even in Old Tamil by *koṭuttāṉ*, *uṭuttāṉ*, *maṭuttāṉ* etc. Thus wee see that the past tense affixes mostly agree with those in Tamil, except, that *t* began to be pronounced as *d* in the historic period of Kannaḍa.

2·33131113. In Telugu *ti* is seen in the verbs of the second and first persons between roots and personal terminations *viz.* *vaṁḍitivi*, *vaṁḍitiri*, *vaṁḍitini*, *vaṁḍitimi* ; but it is not seen in the third person *viz. vaṁḍenu, vaṁḍiri*. In the declinable participle *i* is added to roots, *viz. vaṁḍi* (*vaṁḍu*+*i*), *kani* (*kanu*+*i*)–corresponding to Tamil *kaṇṭŭ*.

233131114. *Malayalam.* The author of Kēraḷapāṇinīyam states that in Malayalam, *i* is added to denote the past tense to roots like *iḷakŭ*, *minnŭ* etc. that *tu* is added to roots like *toḻu*, *kaṇ*, *uṇ* etc. and the final consonant is reduplicated in roots like *pukŭ*, *nakŭ*, etc. *viz. iḷaki*, *minni*, *toḻutu*, *kaṇṭu*, *uṇṭu*, *pukku*, *nakku* etc.

2·3313112 *Present tense.* On careful study of the literature of the four languages, it is seen that, of all tenses, past tense

1. Ś. M. D. s. 220.
2. *ibid.* s. 238.
3. *ibid.* s. 235.

should have been the earliest in origin, future tense should have come after it and the present tense should have been the latest. Since the person spoken to may be an eye-witness to the present action, it is not necessary for the speaker to express the same in words. Besides it is seen that the formation of the present tense in Tamil and Kannaḍa in the earliest stage is different from that in the later stage. In the later stage the present tense forms appear to be periphrastic formations in Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam.

2·33131121. *Present tense in Tamil.*

2·331311211. Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the finite verbs of the type *ceyyum* was present in tense and it could have for its subject only a noun in third person, *uyartiṇai* and *a∴ṟiṇai* except a *palarpāl* noun.[1] Hence it is evident that there were no forms in the present tense in the first, or the second, person and in third person *palarpāl*. The absence of the present tense forms in the first and second persons is justified since the speaker need not narrate to another either his own present deed or that of the person spoken to. But why the present tense form in third person *palarpāl* is absent, is not easy to explain. The form *ceyyum* was considered to be not only a finite verb in the present tense, but also a relative participle in the same tense. The form *ceyyum* is made up of the root *cey* and a particle *um* which is naturally produced by bringing the lips together. The particle *um* is used to express different kinds of ideas; what it denotes at a particular place is understood only from the method of pronouncing it. There is nothing in it which denotes present tense. It is interesting to note that the same form was used as the relative participle in the future tense. Since it is one of the functions of language to avoid ambiguity, the present tense finite verb *ceyyum* and the present tense relative participle *ceyyum* have both died out of existence and their places have been taken by the forms *ceykiṟāṉ*, *ceykiṉṟāṉ*,

1. *Cf* Pallōr paṭarkkai muṉṉilai taṉmai
A-v-vayiṉ mūṉṟu nikaḻuṅ kālattu-c
Ceyyu m-eṉṉuṅ kiḷaviyoṭu koḷḷā. (Tol. Col. 227)

ceyyaniṉṟāṉ etc. and *ceykiṟa, ceykiṉṟa,* and *ceyyaṉiṉṟa. Ceyyum* has remained to denote the future tense both in its capacity as finite verb and as relative participle. As finite verb it is restricted to neuter singular and neuter plural. One may think that *ceyyum* is used in expressions like *nīr ceyyum* (you better do) also; here *ceyyum* is not present in tense and also it, in all probability, is the metamorphosed form of *ceymiṉ*. Hence at the present day we have expressions like *adu ceyyum* (it will do), *avai ceyyum* (they (neuter) will do), *ceyyum makaṉ* (son who will do), *ceyyum mahaḷ* (daughter who will do), *ceyyum makkaḷ* (children who will do), *ōḍum māḍu* (ox that will run) and *ōḍum māḍuhaḷ* (oxen that will run).

2·331311212. But today there are finite verbs in the present tense in all persons and numbers. Naṉṉūlār states that *kiṟu, kiṉṟu* and *āniṉṟu* are the present tense-signs. It is worth while to note the origin of words having *kiṟu, kiṉṟu* and *āniṉṟu*. The forms *uṇkiṟāṉ, uṇkiṉṟāṉ, uṇṇāniṉṟāṉ, uṇṇākkiṭantāṉ, uṇṇāviruntāṉ* are recognised to be periphrastic formations by the commentator on Vīracōḻiyam, since he says that *niṉṟāṉ, kiṭantāṉ, iruntāṉ* etc. are derived from the roots *nil, kiṭa, iru* etc. and are used as the personal terminations after roots in the present tense. Cēṉāvaraiyar holds the same view.[1] Hence *uṇṇā* and *niṉṟāṉ* were, at one time, two words of which *uṇṇā* was a participle and *niṉṟāṉ* was a finite verb. This may be seen from the following examples:—*iravā niṉṟāṉ* (Kampar. A. 239, 38), *tēṟṟā niṉṟāṉ* (*ibid.* 249, 52) where *iravā* and *tēṟṟā* are affirmative indeclinable participles. Later on *nil of niṉṟāṉ* in *uṇṇāniṉṟāṉ* began to be taken as an auxiliary verb. *Uṇṇāniṉṟāṉ* should have originally meant '*he is eating*', the past tense *niṉṟāṉ* being used to denote the immediateness of the action. Naṉṉūlār, without considering the periphrastic nature of the word split it into *uṇ* + *āniṉṟu* + *āṉ* and stated that *āniṉṟu* is a present tense sign. *Uṇkiṟāṉ* seems to be the modified form of *uṇkiṉṟāṉ*. What is the origin of *kiṉṟu*? If *ākiṉṟāṉ* which might have been formed *ā* + *ku* (cāriyai) + *iṉ* (cāriyai) + *ṟu* + *āṉ* was

1. *Cf.* Avai nikaḻkālampaṟṟi varuṅkāl nil,
kiṉṟu eṉpaṉavaṟṟōṭu varum (Tol. Col. 202)

wrongly split as *ā* + *kiṉṟu* + *āṉ*, we may state that *kiṉṟu* is the combination of *ku* + *iṉ* + *ṟu*[1].

2·33131122. *Present tense in Kannaḍa.*

2·331311221. The author of the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa states that the present tense is formed by inserting *dapa* between the root and the personal terminations.[2] Kittel suggests that *nōḍidapam* is *nōḍida* + *apam* 'a having seen-one he is' But it seems to me that, instead of taking *nōḍida* + *apam* has become *nōḍidapam*, we may take *nōḍidu* (the indeclinable participle) and *apam* (the finite form of the verb *ā* to be) have become *nōḍidapam*. In that case this formation bears a close similarity to the formation *uṇṇā-v-iruntāṉ* in Tamil.

2·331311222. But in Mod. Kannaḍa *utta* is inserted between the root and the personal terminations, *viz.* *māḍuttāne* (māḍu + utta + āṉe).[3]

2·331311223. *Present tense in Telugu.*

The form *vaṁḍucunnāru* is made up of *vaṁḍucu* and *unnāru* which means 'they are cooking.'[4]

2·331311224. *Present tense in Malayalam.*

2·331311241. In Rāmacaritam we find the following forms:— *parukiṉṟōm*,[5] *colliṉṟōm*,[6] *ceyyiṉṟa*,[7] *variṉṟa*.[8] From this it is

1. *Cf.* H. G. T. pp. 170, 171. K. Ramakrishnayya states that *kiru* is a combination of gu+iru (to be) S. D. P. p. 56; but I do not agree with him.
2. Ś. M. D. s. 220.
3. G. M. C. pp. 56 and 57.
4. *Cf.* Vasatir-anubandhakaḥ syād yatra laḍarthō vivakṣitaḥ (Ā. Ś. c. 5, 5); vasatiḥ = vasadhātvarthakaḥ unna—śabdaḥ (comm.)
5. R. c. 32.
6. *ibid* 29.
7. *ibid* 38.
8. *ibid* 39.

evident that *kiṉṟu* was the present tense sign in old Malayalam and *k* was sometimes dropped. Hence the order form *collukiṉṟōm* gradually changed to *colliṉṟōm* which, in its turn, changed to *collunnu* by dropping the personal termination.

2·331311242. *Unnu* is said to be the sign of the present tense.[1] Corresponding to Tamil *irukkinṟāṉ*, Malayalam has *irikkunnu*; in the latter form the personal termination is dropped, *ṟ* is assimilated to *n* and *i* of *kiṉṟu* is changed to *u* by the law of vowel-harmony.

2·3313113. *Future tense.* The future tense may have been in its origin later than the past, for it is possible for the primitive people to remember some of their past deeds and express them to others before they begin to think of the future. This is clearly seen in the case of children. The only future that would have been possible then was that conveyed by the command which is expressed by the imperative second person.

2·33131131. *Tamil.* Tolkāppiyaṉār has not mentioned any affix denoting the future tense, though he has noted the future as one of the tenses. The author of Naṉṉūl mentions *p* and *v* as the future tense-affixes.[2] *Cf. uṇpāṉ, pō-v-āṉ.* The origin of this *p* or *v* is not easy to determine. In the examples like *pō-v-āṉ*, it is quite possible to assume that *v* was *intervocalic* and that, at a later stage, it was considered to be a tense-affix. By analogy it might have been introduced between the roots ending in consonants and personal terminations and through ease of pronunciation it might have been changed to *p*. If so, the tense was originally denoted only by context as in the case of *uṇkū, uṇṭū, uṇkum, varutum* etc.. though the author of Naṉṉūl takes *kū, ṭū* etc, *kum, ṭum, tum*, to denote not only the person and number, but also the tense.[3] Dr. Caldwell states that 'the sign of the future is *g*' in words like *śey-gu* and *śey-gum*.[4] Since *gu* is the

1. *Cf.* K. P. p. 223.
2. Naṉ. 144.
3. *ibid.* 145.
4. C. D. G. 513.

modified form of *kū*, and *ū* cannot have an existence without *k*, *kū* itself is taken as the personal termination by Tolkāppiyaṉār and other grammarians. The sign *p* is generally doubled after roots with two short vowels like *iru*, *naṭa* etc.

Cf. *iru-p-p-āṉ*, *naṭa-p-pāṉ*.

The finite verb *ceyyum*, though it was mentioned by Tolkāppiyaṉār to have been *present* in tense [1] and was used as *āṇpāl*, *peṇpāl*, *oṉṟaṉpāl* and *palaviṉpāl* in the third person, began to be used in the *future* tense as *oṉṟaṉpāl* and *palaviṉpāl* *Cf.* *adu śeyyum*, *avai śeyyum*. [2] In modern spoken Tamil we have the expressions *nīr śeyyum* (you better do) and *nīṅgaḷ śeyyuṅgaḷ* (you better do). *Śeyyum* and *śeyyuṅgaḷ* should be the modified forms of *ceymiṉ* and *ceymiṉkaḷ*. The use of the finite verb *ceyyum* in the future tense may have been in analogy with the participle *ceyyum* which was recognised by Tolkāppiyaṉār to be both the present relative participle and the future relative participle. In Mod. Tamil the form *śeykiṉṟa* has ousted *śeyyum*, so that at the present day it is recognised only as the future relative participle. The forms *koḷvāṉ* and *uṇbāṉ* which are said to be future participles are only finite verbs in form and infinites in sense since they modify verbs. *Cf.* *avaṉ koḷvān vandāṉ* (he came to take (it)).

In expressions like '*nān varum porudu*, *pōrei-k-kaṇḍēn*,' [3] Dr. Caldwell says that the future participle *varum* is used in the sense of the imperfect. But in my opinion it is a relic of the old use of the present relative participle which shows the simaltaneity of the two actions of coming and seeing. The expression like *varum poḻudu* was considered by Tolkāppiyaṉār as a periphrastic formation and an infinite verb. [4]

1. Tol. Col. 227.
2. The sentence 'In the Tamil of prose and conversation the future in *um* is used in connection with the neuter of the third person singular above' in C. D. G. p. 515 needs modification.
3. C. D. G. p. 517
4. Tol. Col. 229.

2·33131132. *Kannaḍa.*

2·331311321. *Haḷa Kannaḍa.* Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa says that *v* is generally the future tense–affix [1] and it may be changed to *p*, which too may be doubled; [2] the terminations *gum* and *kum* are used with roots in all genders and numbers of the third person in all tenses [3] *Cf. āḷgum* [4] *akkum.* [5] Forms like *irdum*, [6] *māduvudum* [7] are also found there. *Āḷgum, akkum* are similar to Tamil *āḷkum, ākum* though in Tamil they are considered to be only first person plural. Hence in the P. D. the forms like *āḷkum* were used in all genders and numbers to denote actions in all the three tenses and they were restricted in their own way in the different languages.

2·331311322. But in Mod. Kannaḍa *iy* or *d* is inserted between the root and the verbal termination. *Cf. mādiyānu, muḍidānu.* These have replaced forms like *āḷgum.* They are called aorist by Dr. Caldwell.

The future forms are *āḷguvanu, āḷguvaḷu, āḷguvaru, āḷguvadu, āḷguvavu, āḷguvi, āḷguviri, āḷguvenu,* and *āḷguvevu.*

2·33131133. *Telugu.* The future tense is formed by inserting *kala* between the root and the termination.*Cf vaṇḍaṁgalaru.* There is another called aorist by Dr. Caldwell whose forms are *vaṇḍunu, vaṇḍuduru, vaṇḍuduvu, .vaṇḍuduru, vaṇḍudunu vaṇḍudumu.* In *amahat, u* the relic of *um* is added to roots, *tāpambulu dīri pōvu.* (R. K. 26)

2·33131134. *Malayalam.* The future tense is formed by adding the termination *um* to the root. *Cf varum.* [8] This form is used in all persons and numbers. This is an instance to prove that Malayalam separated herself from Tamil only after the finite verb *ceyyum* which was originally present in tense began to be

1. S. M. D. s. 220.
2. ibid s. 231.
3. ibid s. 226.
4. ibid s. 46.
5. ibid s. 10.
6. ibid s. 226.
7. ibid s. 62.
8. G. M. C. p. 65.

used in the future tense. Afterwards that form began to be generalised in all persons genders and numbers.

e.g. Ura perum (R. C. 93)

Kaṇakaḷum....miḻiyum kuṭi-keṭukkum (*ibid*, 117)

2·3313114. *Other tenses.* In the modern period of the different languages pheriphrastic formations have been formed to denote tenses other than past, present and future. For instance in Tamil *śeydirundāṉ, śeydirukkiṟāṉ. śeydiruppāṉ* are respectively used as past perfect, present perfect and future perfect and *śeydukoṇḍirundāṉ, śeydukoṇḍirukkiṟāṉ*, and *śeydukoṇḍiruppāṉ* are respectively used as past perfect continuous, present perfect continuous and future perfect continuous. It is evident that the verbs *iru* and *koḷ* are used as auxiliaries here, though in the former three cases *irundāṉ, irukkirāṉ*, and *iruppāṉ* are finite verbs *in form*. Verbs similar to these are found in Mod. Kannaḍa.

e. g. māḍuttiddanu, māḍuttiruttane, māḍuttiruvanu[1].

avaru..adhyayana māḍuiddaṟu (K. Mah. ādi. 393)

nānu bhīmana parākramavannu aritiruvanu (*ibid*. 406)

Telugu has forms like *cēsikoṁye* corresponding to Tamil *ceydukoṇḍirundāṉ*.

Forms similar to them are found in Malayalam.

e. g. ceytirikkunnu, ceytirunnu, ceytukoṇḍirikkinnu etc.

Malayalam—nī nityam manuṣyarē konnu tinnu ī vanattē dūṣippiccu *vannirukkunnu*. (M. Maha. II 32)

2·331312. *Passive affirmative simple verb.* Dr. Caldwell says, " The Dravidian verb is entirely destitute of a passive voice properly so called, nor is there any reason to suppose that it ever had a passive. None of the Dravidian dialects possesses any passive particle or suffix or any means of expressing passivity by direct inflexional changes ; the signification of the passive voice is, nevertheless, capable of being expressed in a variety of ways."[2]

1. R. C. 84.

2. C. D. G. p. 463.

2·3313121. It is evident from the statement of Tolkāppiyanār that the third case expressed the agent also,[1] that the idea of the passive voice was in existence from before his time. The expressions

> nīroṭu *niṟainta* kaṇ (Puṟa 164),
> Il-vāḻvāṉ *eṉpāṉ* (Kuṟaḷ. 41)
> Cuṟṟam *uṭuppatūum* uṇpatūum iṉṟi-k-keṭum (*ibid* 166)

show that, in the early period, the active form of the verb expressed the passive sense also. The expression *vañcarai añca-p paṭum* (Kuṟaḷ 824) has the noun-infinitive *añca* (fearing) as the subject and *paṭum* (is fit) as its predicate. The commentator *Parimēl-aḻakar* states that *añca* means *añcutal*. Similarly, the expression *Oḷiyōṭu oḻuka-p paṭum* (Kuṟaḷ 698) has *oḻuka* for its subject and *paṭum* for its predicate. But in the expression *Eccattāṟ kāṇa-p paṭum* (Kuṟaḷ 114), *kāṇa-p-paṭum* is taken as one word by the commentator; even here the above construction is quite possible. The Kannaḍa expression *māḍal paṭṭitu* shows that it is made up of two words. Malayalam expression *paṟaya-p-peṭṭu* is similar to Tamil *śolla-p-paṭṭatŭ*. Similar form is found in Telugu also *cf. kānampaḍiyeḍi*. Hence Dr. Caldwell's conjecture "that this compound of *paḍu* to suffer with an infinitive or noun of quality is rather a phrase than a passive voice" is a fact. Such expressions as *kāṇa-p-paṭṭadŭ* in Modern Tamil are taken as single words and they are undoubtedly periphrastic formations. Like the root *paṭu*, *taku* and *peṟu* also were used. Hence *kāṇa-t-takum* and *kāṇa-p-peṟum* were used in the place of *kāṇa-p-paṭum*.[2] Expressions like *adu muḍindu āyiṟṟŭ*, *adu muḍindu pōyiṟṟŭ* are used in the sense 'it was finished.' Dr. Caldwell says[3] that the root *paṭu* is sometimes added even to transitive roots and sometimes to denote, other than passive signification *e.g. nāṉ naṉṟāy śāppiḍa-p-paṭṭavaṉ*. His remark holds good if we take the expression *śāppiḍa-p-paṭṭavaṉ* as one word; but if we take it as words *śāppiḍa* and *paṭṭavaṉ* where *paṭṭavaṉ*

1. Tol. Col. 73.
2. H. G. T. pp. 175–7.
3. C. D. G. 468.

means 'is fit', it may not hold good. In Mod. Tamil the forms *aḍikka-p-paḍukiṟāṉ*, *aḍikka-p-paṭṭāṉ* and *aḍikka-p-paḍuvāṉ* denote respectively the present, the past and the future, tense.

2·331313. *Active negative simple verb.* Since the native grammarians in Tamil,[1] Kannaḍa,[2] Telugu[3] and Malayalam[4] recognised the negative verb, it is clear that the negative voice should have existed in P. D. How it was then formed should be determined.

In Tamil it was formed in six different ways in the ancient period :—

(1) By inserting the negative root *al* between the root and the personal termination.

(*e. g.*) *cel-l-al-am* (we will not go) (Puṟa. 101, 1)
aṟi-y-al-aṉ (he does not know) (*ibid.* 239, 9)

(2) By inserting the negative root *al* or *il* between the tense-sign and the personal termination.

(*e. g.*) *ciṟantaṉṟu* (it is not desirable) (*ibid.* 75, 5)
kaṇ-ṭ-il-aṉ (I have not seen) (*ibid.* 202, 2)

(3) By inserting *al* followed by the personal terminations after the affirmative finite forms of verbs.

(*e. g.*) *muyaṅkiṉēṉ allēṉ* (I was not befooled) (*ibid.* 19, 7)
celvēm allēm (We will not go) (*ibid.* 36, 11)
ollāṉ allaṉ (He will not agree) (*ibid.* 97, 21)

(4) By inserting the vowel *ā* between the root and the tense sign.

(*e. g.*) *ākātu* (it will not become) (Tol. E. 71)
mutalātu (it will not commence) (*ibid.* 65)

1. Etir-maṟai (Tol. col. 283).
2. Pratiṣēdha-kriyā (Ś. M. D. s. 221).
3. Vyatirēkakriyā (A. Ś. c. 5, 11).
4. Niṣēdha-kriyā (K. P. p. 290).

(5) By adding the personal terminations directly to the root.

(*e. g.*) *kāṇēṉ* (I will not see) (Pura. 71, 5)
ollāy (You will not agree) (*ibid.* 31, 6)
ollāṉ (He will not agree) (*ibid.* 78, 9)

(6) By lengthening the *a* of roots like *var* [1] and adding the personal terminations.

(*e. g.*) *vārēm* (We will not come) (*ibid.* 145 4)

In Kannaḍa it was formed in the following ways in the ancient period.

(1) By adding *a* between the root and the termination.

(*e. g.*) *uḻi-y-adu* [2] (it will not abandon) (Ś. M. D. p. 350)
nil-l-a-vu (it will not stand) (*ibid.*)
odav-a-da (not helping) (*ibid.* s. 234)

(2) By adding the personal terminations directly to the root :—

(*e. g.*) *māḍam* (He will not do) (Ś. M. D. p. 312).

(3) By adding *al* to the root, found only in the second person singular.

(*e. g.*) *pugal* (Do not enter) (Ś. M. D. p. 333).

(4) By lengthening the *a* of roots like *bar*, *tar* and adding the personal terminations.

(*e. g.*) *tāram* (he will not take) (Ś. M. D. p. 339)
bāram (he will not come) (*ibid.*)

1. It seems to me that the root in *varukiṉṟāṉ* and *varuvāṉ* was originally *var*, though in modern times *vā* is taken to be the root. *Cf.* Telugu *rā* (come) and *varucol* (Tol. Col. 29) ; *tar*, *bar*, *emba dhātugaḷa* (Ś. M. D. p. 339)
2. The author of the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa says that the neuter singular and plural terminations *udu* and *uvu* are changed to *adu* and *avu* in negative verbs. Historical grammarian might have said that *u* of *udu* and *uvu* is dropped after the negative affix *a*.

Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi says that, in Telugu, *a* is added between the root and the termination.[1]

(*e. g.*) *kōraru* (they will not request) (R. K. 27),
tagadu (it is not fit). (N. C. 8).

This is more correct than the statement of the author of the Bālavyākaraṇa that *u* is changed to *a* in *vaṇḍaṁḍu*.

In Malayalam it was formed [1] by adding the terminations directly to the root.

(*e. g.*) *iriyēn* (I will not remain) (R. C. 47).

(2) by adding *ā* between the root and the termination.

(*e. g.*) *piḻayātavaṇṇam* (so that it may not fail) (R. C. 5).

From what is stated above it may be inferred that P. D. formed the negative voice either by adding the verbal termination directly to the root, signifying the negation through a particular intonation or by adding *a* or *ā* between the root and the verbal termination or someties by inserting the root of negation *al* or *il* between the root and the termination.

But in modern Tamil almost all the forms mentioned above with respect to finite verbs have been replaced by forms like *vara-v-illai* in the past tense and *vara-māṭṭāṉ, vara-māṭṭāḷ* etc. in the future tense in modern colloquial Tamil. It is clear that these are all periphrastic formations.

Similarly the forms like *talasal illa* (did not reach) are used in Mod. Kannaḍa.

Similarly in Mod. Malayalam the forms *ceyyunnu illa, ceytu illa* and *ceyyuvu illa* or *ceyka yilla* are used respectively in the present, the past, and the future, tense.

The old *a* or *ā* used to denote the negation lives in the infinitive verbs and relative participles in the modern period of the different languages.

1. Ā. Ś. C. 5, 8.

2·331314. *Passive negative simple verb.* The use of this should have been rare in the early period of the languages. In the modern period the forms formed by adding *paḍu* followed by the verbal terminations to the noun infinitive form of the root are found in writings.

(e. g.) *aḍikkappaḍēṉ*[1] (I will not be beaten).
aḍikkappaḍāṉ (He will not be beaten).

and in colloquial speech the forms like *aḍikkappaḍa-v-illai* are used in the past tense and *aḍikkappaḍa māṭṭāṉ* etc. in the future tense.

2·332. *Imperative mood.* On careful examination of languages, it may be seen that the imperative mood should have had its origin only with reference to the second person singular and later on should have been extended to the second person plural. A large number of languages uses the bare root as the second person singular. To that class P. D. should have belonged. In all the four languages Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam it is seen that the bare root is used as the second person singular from the earliest period to the present day, though with some modifications. *Cf.* Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam *pō* aud Kannaḍa *hōgu.* In the plural, the termination alone is added to the root, since the idea of command alone stands foremost and there need be no reference to tense.

2·3321. *Tamil.* It seems that, at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār, the bare root fell largely out of use and the forms made up of the root with the second person singular terminations *i*, *ai* and *āy* became more prevalent ; sometimes *i* was lengthened to *ī*.

(*e. g.*)	*varaiti* (allot)	(Puṟa, 8, 7)
	ceṉṟī (go)	(Kanda, II 477, 32)
	kēṭṭai (listen)	(*ibid* 546, 23)
	aṟiyāy (know)	(Aka. 268, 1)
	kēḷ (listen)	(Pattu. 131, 38.)

1. *aḍikkappaḍēṉ* is negative voice and *aḍikkappaṭṭēṉ* is affirmative voice.

Tolkāppiyaṉār mentions that the form *ceyyāy* sometimes becomes abbreviated to *cey*.[1]

The termination *miṉ* at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār and *miṉkaḷ* at a later period were added to roots in the second person plural.

(*e. g.*) *cērmiṉ* (reach) (Puṟa. 9, 5)
cērmiṉkaḷē (P. T. 58, 1)

Sometimes the terminations *ir* and *īr* also are added.

(*e. g.*) *kāṇīr* (see) (Cilap. 209, 12.)

At the present day the form *ceyyum* (*nīr ceyyum*) and the form *ceyyuṅgaḷ* are respectively used as imperative second person honorific singular and plural. This *ceyyum* should be the corruption of *ceymiṉ* or *ceymē*.

2·3322. *Kannaḍa.* Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa states that the root-form itself will be used as the second person singular, imperative[2] and uses the same form in many places.

(*e. g.*) *tiḷi* (understand clearly) (Ś. M. D. s. 33).
aṟi (learn) (*ibid.* s. 88).
porduvir (come near) (*ibid* p. 304).

2·3323. *Telugu.* The root form is used in the second person singular. (*e. g.*) *vinu* (listen).

The form like *vinumu* (R. c. 9) is used as honorific singular and the form like *vinuṁḍi* (N. c. 8) and *vinuṁḍu* are used as second person plural.

2·3324. *Malayalam.* The root form is used in the second person singular and *in* or *vin* (modified form of Tamil *min*) or *pin* is added to it in the plural.

(*e. g.*) *kāṇ* (see) (R. c. 17)
cey (do.) (*ibid*, 3)
niṅṅaḷ pōkin / *pōkavin* / *pōvin* } go (K. P. 259)
ceyviṉ (R. c. 91)
urappin (*ibid.* 100)

1. Tol. Col. 450.
2. Ś. M. D. 229.

2·333. *Optative mood.* Since the imperative mood had primarily reference to the second person, the optative mood may have had primarily reference only to the third person. It should have been used to denote wish, request etc. This is seen from the use of the *viyaṅkōḷ* only in the third person at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār [1] and from the use of the forms *kuḍuge* and *tarke* only in the third person in Kannaḍa.

2·3331. *Tamil.* In Ancient Tamil the *viyaṅkōḷ-viṉai* had the forms *vāḻka, vāḻiya, vāḻiyar* etc. Though it should have been used only in the third person at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār, yet it was generalised in all persons before the time of the Puṟanāṉūṟu.

(*e. g.*) *vāḻiyar yāṉ* (may I live long) (Puṟa 365, 9)
nīvāḻiyar (may you live long) (*ibid* 137, 14)
vāḻiyar pala (may many prosper) (*ibid* 371, 25)
vāḻka avaṉṟāḷ (may his feet prosper) (*ibid* 101, 10)
eṅkō vāḻiya (may my king prosper) (*ibid* 9, 8)
(*nī*) *vāḻiya* (may you prosper) (*ibid* 34, 23)
ceytēṉ ākuka (may I be considered to have done it) (*ibid* 71, 9)
celvai-y-ākuvai (may you be considered to have gone) (*ibid* 70, 15)
nalla illa-v-akupa (may good things cease to exist) (*ibid* 7, 10.)

The form *ceyal vēṇṭum* was recognised by Tolkāppiyaṉār.[2] This should have been a phrase. Sometimes the word *vēṇṭum* was dropped and the word *ceyal* was used above in that sense.

Cf. Ceppum viṉāvum vaḻāa l-ōmpal (Tol. Col. 13)

Later on forms like *ōmpal* began to be considered a verb in the optative mood, though originally it was a verbal noun.

In colloquial speech such forms as *vāḻaṭṭum, vāḻakkaṭavaṉ, vāḻakkaṭavaḷ* etc. are generally used in the third person.

1. Tol. Col. 226. 2. *ibid* 243.

2·3332. *Kannaḍa.* In Kannaḍa *ke* and *ge* were added to roots to form verbs in the optative mood in the third person, both singular and plural.

(*e. g.*) *avam kuḍuge* (let him give) (Ś. M. D. p. 323)
avam tarke (let him take) (*ibid.*)

In the second person plural and the first person plural *im* and *am* were respectively used.

(*e. g.*) *tarisim* (may you take) (*ibid.*)

In Mod. Kannaḍa the form *māḍali* is used in the optative mood both in the third, and the first, person singular and plural. The form *māḍōṇa* is also used in the first person plural. Harold Spencer says in his Kanarese Grammar that *māḍali* and *māḍōṇa* are respectively used in the first person singular and plural only in interrogative sentences. (p. 205)

2·3333. *Telugu.* In Telugu *u* or *udu* is added between roots and terminations.

(*e. g.*) *vaṁḍunu* (may he cook)
vaṁḍuduru (may they cook)

It seems the forms corresponding to Tamil *celka* and Kannaḍa *kuḍuge* have died in Telugu.

2·3334. *Malayalam.* In Rāmacaritam the following forms are found :—

nī varuka (may you come) (R. C. 120)
niṅṅaḷ tarikka (may you stay) (*ibid* 126)
tiruvuḷḷam āvudu āka (may you have the mind (*ibid* 14)
collēṇṭum (*ibid* 78)
niṅṅal coḷḷavēṇṭum (*ibid* 42)
aṟiyalām (you may ascertain) (*ibid* 29.)
(modified form of *aṟiyal ākum*)

From this it is evident that in old Malayalam the optative mood was exactly the same in form as it was in Tamil of the 12th cent.

The author of the Kēraḷapāṇinīyam says that the form *ceyyaṭṭe* (the modified form of *ceyya oṭṭum*) is used to denote *command*, *ceyyaṇam* (the modified form of *ceyya vēṇṭum*) to denote *injunction* and *ceyyām* (the modified form of *ceyya ākum*) to denote wish.[1] The forms *ceyyaṭṭe* and *ceyyaṇam* correspond to the colloquial Tamil expressions *ceyyaṭṭum* and *ceyyaṇum*. It is interesting to note the origin of the forms *ceyyaṭṭum*, *ceyyaṇum* and Malayalam *ceyyām*. In the Tamil expressions *avaṉ ceyya oṭṭum* (It suits him doing), *avaṉ ceyya vēṇṭum*, *avaṉ ceyya ākum* the phrase *avaṉ ceyya*, having *avaṉ* as the subject of the action denoted by the root *cey* of the noun infinitive *ceyya*, forms the subject of *oṭṭum* and *ākum* and the object of *vēṇṭum*. In the later period *avaṉ* was extricated from that phrase and *ceyya* was added with the finite verb that followed and *avaṉ* was considered to be the subject of the verbal phrase *ceyya oṭṭum*, *ceyya vēṇṭum* and *ceyya ākum* and later on the phrase became a word.

2·334 *Infinitive mood.* A careful study of the four languages Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam in their ancient and modern periods tells us that verbs in the infinitive mood should have been divided into two classes in Primitive Dravidian :— one qualifying a noun and the other modifying a verb. The former was called by Tamil grammarians as *peyar-eñcu-kiḷavi* or *peyar-eccam* and the latter as *viṉai-y-eñcu-kiḷavi* or *viṉai-y-eccam*. *Peyar-eccam* is called relative participle by Dr. Caldwell. Its sign in Primitive Dravidian may have been *a*.

2·3341. *Relative participle.* The relative participle has the same form whatever be the nature of the noun which it qualifies (*i. e.*) it is the same for all genders and numbers. Besides the action denoted by the root may be the predicate of a subject. Such a construction is not seen in Indo-European languages. For instance the Tamil phrase *Śāttaṉ eḻudum kōl* (*Śattan* writing pencil) means the pencil with which *Śattan* writes.

2·33411 *Tamil.* In ancient Tamil the affirmative relative participle had the form *ceyta* in the past tense and *ceyyum* both

1. K. P. p. 259.

in the present and the future tenses. But in course of time *ceyyum* was restricted to the future tense and *ceykiṉṟa, ceykiṟa* and *ceyyāniṉṟa* have taken its place in the present tense. *Ceyyāta* is the form of the negative relative participle in all tenses. This *a* is said by Dr. Caldwell to be the possessive sign.[1] It is explained in detail in the History of Grammatical Theories that it may have evolved from *a* the sign of the neuter plural in verbs.

2·33412. *Kannaḍa.* In ancient Kannaḍa the past relative participle and the future relative participle were respectively of the form *māḍida* and *māḍuva*. It seems either of the two served as the present relative participle. But in the modern period the form *māḍuttiruva* is used as the present relative participle. *Māḍada* is the form of the negative relative participle.

2·33413. *Telugu.* *Cēsina* is the form of the past relative participle. Perhaps it was used as the relative participle in all tenses. The present relative participle *cēyucunna* is perhaps of modern origin.

2·33414. *Malayalam.* In Malayalam *ceyyunna, ceyta* or *nalkiya* or *nalkina* and *ceyyum*[2] are respectively the relative participle in the present, the past, and the future, tense. The form *ceyyiṉṟa*[3] is found in Rāmacaritam; it corresponds to Tamil *ceykiṉṟa.*

2·3342. *Viṉai-y-eccam.* There are strong reasons to suppose that Primitive Dravidian should have had a very large number of *viṉai-y-eccam* or verbal infinitives and in course of time some of them would have gone out of use on account of their being replaced by others. They should have denoted the relation that existed between one action and another—whether one happened before or after or in contemporaneity with another, whether one stood with another in the relation of cause, effect, reason, condition, contrast etc.

1. H. G. T. pp. 183–6.
1. K. P. 307.
2. R. C. 38

2·33421. *Tamil.* Tolkāppiyaṉār mentions the following nine verbal infinitive forms :—*ceytu*, *ceyyū*, *ceypu*, *ceyteṉa*, *ceyyiyar*, *ceyyiya ceyiṉ*, *ceya*, and *ceyaṟku*. *Uṟaṅki* (from the root *uṟaṅku*-to sleep) and *pōy* (from the root *pō*-to go), though they are morphologically different from the form *ceytu*, semantically are of the type of *ceytu*.

2·334211. Of these the first three—*ceytu*, *ceyyū* and *ceypu* are considered by the commentators to be the indeclinable past participle with slight differences.[1] *Ceyyū* changed in course of time to *ceyyā*. Since the shade of difference that existed among them was forgotten in course of time, *ceyyū* and *ceypu* have become obsolete.

2·334212. *Ceyyiyar*, *ceyyiya and ceyaṟku*. All these were gerunds. They meant exactly 'for the purpose of doing.' The first two have become obsolete and the third, which appears to be the fourth case of the verbal noun *ceyal* is generally replaced by *ceydaṟku*, the fourth case of *ceydal*. *Ceyteṉa* also seems to belong to this class. This too is obsolete.

2·334213. *Ceyiṉ*. This denoted condition. It may have, originally, been the fifth case of the root form *cey*. This is now generally replaced by *ceydāl*, which may be taken to be the third case of the participial form *ceydu*.

2·334214. *Ceya*. This is used in four ways :—(1) as an infinitive absolute denoting simultaneity of action.

(*e. g.*) *ñāyiṟu paṭa avaṉ vandāṉ*.
(sun setting, he came).

(2) as an infinitive absolute denoting cause.

(*e. g.*) *maḻai peyya, kuḷam niṟaintadu* (Rain falling, the tank filled.)

(3) as an infinitive absolute denoting effect.

(*e. g.*) *kuḷam niṟaiya*, *maḻai peyadadu* (It rained so that the tank became full.)

1. H. G. T. pp. 187-188.

(4) as an infinitive, denoting purpose as *ceyaṟkŭ*.

(e. g.) *makkaḷ śukamāy irukka, paḍikkiṉṟaṉar* (children read so that they may be happy.)

In addition to them there was *ceyiṉum* which denoted contrast. It is now replaced by *ceydālum*. In later Tamil the forms *ceydaṟporuṭṭŭ, paḍikka, paḍippāṉ, ceyvāṉ, ceydaṟkŭ, ceyya* also began to be used as verbal infinitives. Of them *ceydaṟporuṭṭŭ* and *ceydaṟkŭ* are the fourth case of *ceydal*; *ceyvāṉ* and *paḍippāṉ* are the finite verbs used infinitively, and *paḍikka* and *ceyya* are the modified forms of the ancient *ceya*.

In colloquial speech only the form *ceydŭ, uṟaṅki*, and *pōy* remain for the indeclinable past participle, the forms *ceya* and *ceydaṟkŭ* for the gerund, *ceyiṉ* and *ceydāl* to denote condition and *ceydālum* and *ceyiṉum* to denote contrast in the affirmative; and in the negative, *ceyyāmal, ceyyāmal iruppadaṟkŭ, ceyyāmal irundāl* and *ceyyāmal irundālum* are used.

2·33422. *Kannaḍa.*

2·334221. In old Kannaḍa the past indeclinable participle had the forms *kunidu* and *māḍi*.[1]

(e. g.) *kunidu naḍedaṁ* (he walked having stooped.)
māḍi bandaṁ (he came after doing.)

The present indeclinable participle had the forms ending in *utum, uttum, utte* and *ute*.[2]

(e. g.) *nagatum bandam* (he came laughing.)
kāduttum bandam (he came fighting.)
kettutte kaḍidam (he is strong in cutting.)
esute nindam (he stood shooting an arrow.)

Infinitives ending in *e, inegam, udum, annam, annegam, inam alōḍam* are used as absolutes; of them *annegam, annam, inegam* and *inam* are used for the present and future tenses and *udum* and *alōḍam* for the past.[3] Sometimes *al* also was used.

1–2. Ś. M. D. pp. 334–6.
3. Ś. M. D. pp. 352–3.

Oḍe was used to denote condition.

2·334222. In Modern Kannaḍa the past indeclinable participle has the same form as in Old Kannaḍa. In the present indeclinable participle the endings are *uta, utta, utā, uttā* and *uḍe* and the endings for the infinitives used as absolutes are *a, alu, alikke*.[2]

(*e.g.*) *nānu hōga ninu bande* (I going, you came)

nānu māḍalu avanu bandanu (I doing, he came)

nānu māḍalikke avanu bandanu (I doing, he came)

The same endings may denote purpose also.

(*e.g.*) *nānu māḍa bandanu* / *nānu māḍalu bandanu* / *nānu māḍalikke bandanu* } (I came to do)

They may denote cause also.

nānu hēḷalu avanige tiḷiyitu (It became clear to him since I explained it)

Are and sometimes *aḍe* denote condition.

(*e.g.*) *nīnu bandare nānu koḍuttēne* (If you come, I give)

2·33423. *Telugu.* The past indeclinable participle is formed by adding *i* to the root.

(*e.g.*) *ā māṭa vini* (having heard that word.)

The present indeclinable participle is formed by adding *cum*.

(*e.g.*) *cūcucum bōyenu* (he went seeing.)

The form *vaṁḍanu* denotes the purpose; it sometimes drops *u* and becomes *vaṁḍaṁ*, which is now pronounced without *ṁ*.

(*e.g.*) *Caitruṇḍu vaṁḍanu* bōyenu (Caitra went to cook)

2. G. M. C. pp. 79-82.

The form *vaṁḍanam* denotes condition.

(*e. g.*) *vāḍu rammaninaṁ pōyitini.*
(I will go if he asks me to come)

The negative participles are of the form *vaṇḍaka* (not cooking) and *gāni* (not becoming).

2·33424. *Malayalam.*

2·334241. In old Malayalam the forms of verbal infinitives were almost identical with those of Tamil. For instance Rāmacaritam has the following forms :—

(1) *Indeclinable past participle* :—*iruntŭ*[1], *koṇṭŭ*[2] *ceṉṟŭ*[3], *viḻntŭ*,[4] *āy*,[5] *pōy*,[6] *karuti*,[7] *ōṭi*[8] etc.

(2) *Verbal infinitives denoting condition* :—
akanṟāl,[9] *varikil*.[10]

(3) *Verbal infinitives denoting contrast* :—
uḻanṟālum,[11] *okkilum*.[12]

(4) *Verbal infinitives denoting manner* :—
aṟiyumāṟŭ,[13] *iruntavāṟŭ*,[14] *iruntavaṇṇam*.[15]

(5) *Verbal infinitives denoting cause* :—
Ellārum *vaṇaṅka*....avaṉ marantān.[16]

(6) *Negative verbal infinitives* :—
iṭaviṭātŭ,[17] *piḻayātŭ*,[18] *vārātŭ*.[19]

1. R. C. 1
2. *ibid.* 5
3. *ibid.* 39
4. *ibid.* 11
5. *ibid.* 1
6. *ibid.* 8
7. *ibid.* 8
8. *ibid.* 10
9. *ibid.* 34
10. *ibid.* 42
11. R.C.2
12. *ibid.* 14.
13. *ibid.* 2
14. *ibid.* 22
15. *ibid.* 23
16. *ibid.* 26
17. *ibid.* 16
18. *ibid.* 42
19. *ibid.* 50

2·334242. *Modern Malayalam* :—

The author of Kēraḷapāṇinīyam classifies *vinayeccam* under five heads :—[1]

1. *Munvinayeccam.* Past indeclinable participle.
2. *Pinvinayeccam.* Future indeclinable participle.
3. *Naṭuvinayeccam.* Indeclinable participle without reference to time.
4. *Pākṣika-vinayeccam.* Verbal participles denoting condition.
5. *Tanvinayeccam.* Absolute verbal participles etc.

Munvinayeccam has the same form as the finite verb except that the final *u* in the former is short and closed ; *e. g. vannŭ*[2] *viṇṇŭ*[3] *cennŭ*[4].

Pinvinayeccam ends in *ān* ; *e. g. pōkān, pōkuvān.*

Naṭuvinayeccam ends in *a, ka, o ruka; e.g. ceyya, ceyka, ceyyuka*

Pākṣika-vinayeccam ends in *il, kil, ukil or āl* ; *e. g. ceyyil ceykil, ceyyukil, ceytāl.*

Tanvinayeccam ends in *e* or *ave* ; *e. g. ceyye, ceyyave.*

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1. K. P. pp. 314–320.
2. R. C. 1.
3. *ibid.* 24.
4. *ibid.* 40.

3. SYNTAX.

3·1. *Introduction.* A careful study of *Collatikāram* by Tokāppiyaṉār in Tamil and the arrangement of the chapters therein reveals to us that he had recognised that the unit of speech is a *sentence* and the sentence was split into *noun* and *verb* and noun and verb was each analysed into the root-element (*uriccol*) and the flexional element (*iṭai-c-col*). Hence it may not be wrong to assume that the Primitive Dravidian had recognised the same, that the unit of speech is a sentence etc. If that be so, the classification of languages into isolating, agglutinative and inflexional cannot hold good to the Primitive Dravidian. Besides Tolkāppiyam tells us that the relation of two words in a sentence may be case-relation or non-case-relation, and the number of cases, case-suffixes and their values had been determined by his predecessors. The predicate in a sentence was recognised to agree with the subject in gender, number and person.[1]

3·2. *Order of words.* The normal order of words in a sentence in Dravidian languages is this :—

3·21. The subject begins the sentence and the predicate ends it.

e. g. Tam. erutē y-iḷaiya (Oxen are young) (Puṟa. 102)

Kan. Yakṣam tām rāmagirige bandam (Yakṣa came to Rāmagiri) (K. M. S. 1 and 2)

Tel. nā cittamu nīyandu vacciyunnadi (My mind is gone to you) (R. K. 26)

Mal. nī kavi-y-enakku aruḷ-cey (Show favour to me—a poet) (R. C. 3)

3·22. The predicate may be used at the commencement if it is to be emphasised.

1. Tol. Col. 11; G. M. C. p. 55, 17; K. P. p. 355, 175.

e.g. *Tam.* *kaṇṭaṉeṉ* kaṟpiṉuk-k-iṉiyai-k kaṇkaḷāl (Saw I the star of chastity with my eyes). (Kambar C. Tiruvaṭi 58)

Kan. *avadharipudu* vibudhar (Let the learned note carefully) (Ś. M. D. p. 4)

Tel. *cīrumu* ceyyena nija-sēvakānusārin śaurin (Call at Krishna the saviour of his devotees) (R. K. 21)

Mal. *kaṇṭēn* ñān sītaye (K. P. p. 354)

3·23. As regards the cases.

3·231. The sixth case must invariably precede the noun which it qualifies.

e.g. *Tam.* *Ceññāyiṟṟu*-c-celavu (Red-sun's orbit) (Puṟa. 30)

Kan. *Dhanapatiya* śāpadali (At the curse of Kubēra) (K. M. S. 2)

Tel. *Kamalanābhuni* cittakamalaṁbu (Kṛṣṇa's lotus-heart) (R. K. 14)

Mal. *Makarakētanamuṭe* caṉakan (Father of Manmatha) (R. C. 6)

3·232. The second case generally precedes the verb;[1]

e.g. *Tam.* em *ampu* kaṭi viṭutum (I shall shortly discharge arrows) (Puṟa. 9)

Kan. iniyaḷanu nān agali (I having separated from my sweet heart) (K. M. S. 11)

Tel. neyyamu eṟiṁgiñci (Having thought of the friendship) (R. K. 21)

Mal. aruḷ cey (Show (me) favour) (R. C. 3)

1. K. P. p. 354, 172.

iii. the third and the fourth cases also intervene between the second case and the predicate.

e.g. *Tam.* *iṭamulai kaiyāl tiruki* (twirling the left breast with hand) (Cilap. 421, 43)

nampiyai .. *nāṉmaṟai-muṉikku-k kāṭṭi* (having shown his brother to the sage learned in the four Vēdas) (Kampar B. 233, 17)

Kan. *janaru aramaneyannu kallininda kaṭṭuttāre* (Men build places with stones) (K. G. p. 81)

ī pakṣigaḷu gūḍugaḷannu tamage kaṭṭi koḷḷuttā ive (these birds have built nests for them) (*ibid*, p. 90)

Tel. *nēnu sāvāsamu nītōḍa cēyavalenu* (I want to make friendship with you) (N. C. p. 15)

idi nīku dānamu cēyavalenu (I want to make a gift of this to you) (*ibid.* p. 9)

Mal. *katirvillum anpum kōpattōṭē kaikoḷka* (Take hold of the shining bow and arrow with anger) (R. C. 14)

Viyātanum mēta enikku atikamāy nalkkuka (May Vyāsa endow me with imagination to a large extent !) (*ibid.* 9)

3·24. The past, present and future, participle invariably precede the noun which they qualify.

e.g. *Tam.* *nuti maḻuṅkiya veṇkōṭṭāṉ* (with the white tusk whose end was blunted) (Puṟa 4, 11)

iṭi-y-eṉa muḻaṅku muracin (with *muraja* roaring like thunder) (*ibid.* 17)

Kan. *Janakanandane minda ghanatīrthadoḷu mindu* (Having bathed in the deep waters where Janaka's daughter bathed) (K. M. S. 3)

āḍuva huḍuganu (a boy who plays) (K. G. 122)

Tel. *vicāriñci cēsina paniki hāni rādu* (No harm will set in to the work done thro' careful consideration) (N. C. 9)

tana taṁdri-gēhamunakum *janudeṁ-cucununna* y-atithijanu-valana (From the guests who came to her father's house) (R. K. 16)

Mal. *ūḻi-y-ēḻinum niṟanta marañānaporuḷē* (Oh God perceived through Vēdas who existed all thro' the seven deluges) (R. C. 1)

māmala-y-eṭuttu taṭayum nicicāṟatipatiye (Rāvaṇa, the lord of asuras who resisted with the great mountain by uprooting it) (*ibid.* 3)

3·25. When certain things are enumerated first and their total number is indicated by an enumerative word, such a word should be followed by *um* in Tamil, *ū* in Kannaḍa and *um* in Malayalam.

e.g. Tam. *muracu muḻaṅku tāṉai mūvaruṅ kūṭi* (All the three having assembled with their armies beating drums) (Pattu. 61, 54)

Kan. *nanage nīvī avarū ibbarū samānare* (Both—they and you—are equal to me) (K. Mah. ādi. 393)

śāstragaḷ ellavannū ōdi tiḷidavanu āvanu (who has completely mastered all śāstras ?) (K. R p. 4)

Tel. *cēra-cōḻa-pāṇḍyalu mugurunu kūḍi.*

Mal. *ī raṇṭu granthaṅkaḷum* (both these works) (R. C. i)

avar iruvarum kaṇṇīr vārttu (both of them having shed tears) (M. Mah. ādi. 2, 45)

3·3 *Number.*

3·31. Singular nouns with a collective sense take the singular verb.

e g. Tam. *vaiyātu ulakam* (The world will not despise) (Kuṟaḷ. 117)

Kan. *janavu hōytu* (People went).

Tel. *janamu pōyinadi* (People went)

3·32. Plural forms are sometimes used as honorific singulars.[1]

e. g. Tam. *yām ēttukam palavē* (I praise in many ways) (Puṟa. 10, 13)

Kan. *nīvu māḍiri* (you better do) (K. M. 386)

Tel. *nīvu n-āsamayamandu vacci konipommu nannu* (you better come then and take me away) (R. K. 31)

Mal. *tamburākkanmār* etc. *nāṉaru eṅkal viḷayiccu* (Having endowed me with knowledge) (R. C. 2)

3·33. Plural forms of verbs are sometimes used along with singular nouns and *vice versa.*

e. g. Tam. *aṟañ ceytīmō aruḷveyyōy* (Puṟa. 145, 7)
āḍukaḷ vandadu (colloq.)

Kan. *kālāḷ kaviduvu* (Infantry attacks) (Ś. M. D. p. 200)
ātana *tāyiyū ghaṭōtkaca* emba hesarannu *iṭṭaru* (his mother gave him the name *Ghaṭōtkaca*) (K.Mah. ādi. 391)

Tel. *nīvu........konipommu nannu* (you better take me) (R K. 31)
cilakalu vali kenu (parrots are tired) (T. B. V. 94)

3·34. *Oruvar* is the common form to denote either one man or one woman and takes a plural verb after it.

e. g. Tam *oruvarai-y-oruvar toṭarntār* (one followed another) (Kampar C. Kiṅkarar 25)

Kan. *Obbarobbaru bandu kuḷḷiri nīvu* (you, come one by one) (K. D.)

Tel. *okarini okaru anusariñciri* (one followed another)

Mal. *Oruvar ār ulakil ninnōṭoppam-uḷḷavar* (who can equal you in this world ?) (R. C. 15)

1. Tol. Col. 27; Ś. M. D. s. 102; K. P. p. 163.

3 35. The plural interrogative pronoun *yār* is used after the singular noun if the former is used as a logical predicate.[1]

e.g. Tam. ivaṉ yār eṉkuvaiyāyiṉ (if you ask who this man is) (Puṟa. 13, 1)

Kan. tanna kulācāragaḷannu naḍasikoṇḍu baruvavanu āru? (who is performing his own family duties?) (K. R. p. 4)

Mal. Oruvar ār ulakil ninnōṭoppam-uḷḷavar (who can equal you in this world?) (R. C. 15)

3·36. Sometimes two or more singular nouns connected by the particle *um* take a singular verb after them.

e.g. Tam. mātavar nōṉpum maṭavār kāṟpum kāvalaṉ kāval iṉṟu (the celebacy and the chastity of holy women is not under guard) (M. M. 252)

3·37. In case when one is not able to ascertain whether the person standing before him is a male or a female, the plural verb should be used.[2]

ē.g. Tam. āṇmakaṉ kollō peṇṭāṭṭi[3] *kollō a∴tō tōṉṟuvār* (is it man or woman that appears there)

1. Tol. Col. 210; if *yāvaṉ* is abbreviated into *yāṉ* as *yāvar* into *yār*, its form would have been the same as the singular of the first personal pronoun *yāṉ* and hence *yār* may have been used in all genders and numbers to avoid confusion. In Old Tamil it was common to *āṇpāl, peṇpāl* and *palarpāl* and in Mod. Tamil to *oṉṟaṉpāl* and *palaviṉpāl* also.
2. Tol. Col. 23.
3. This word is semantically important; it meant *woman* in Old Tamil and means *wife* now.

3·38. *A∴riṇai* nouns without the plural suffix *kaḷ* or *gaḷ* are used as plural also.

e.g. *Tam.* *Eṉ-kuṇattāṉ ṟāḷai vaṇaṅkā-t-talai kuṇam-ila* (Heads which do not bend before God endowed with eight qualities are of no use) (Kuṟaḷ 9)

Kan. *eraḍum palavum varṇam* (two or many letters) (Ś. M. D. s. 49)

liṅgam āgavu (*ibid.* s. 81)

Mal. *cūlaṅṅaḷum vāḷum niṟantana cuḻanneḻum nicā-carikaḷkayyil* (Tridents and swords filled the whirling hands of Rākṣasis) (R. C. 27)

3·4 *Tiṇai.*

3·41. Sometimes *a∴riṇai* noun is used as *uyartiṇai* noun and *vice-versa* to denote affection.

e.g. *Tam.* *eṉ tandai vandāṉ* (with reference to a calf)

eṉ āṉai vandadu (with reference to a son)

3·42. *A∴riṇai* noun is used as *uyartiṇai* noun to denote, superiority.

e.g. *Tam.* centār-p-pacuṅkiḷiyār (Cīvaka. 1036)

3·5 *Concord.*

Generally finite verb agrees with its subject in gender number and person.

3·51. This is not possible if there are two or more subjects of different persons. If the subjects are of the first person and either of the second or third persons or both, the plural verb of the first person is used.

e.g. Tam. *nāṉum nīyum pōṉōm*[1] (you and I went)
nāṉum avaṉum pōṉōm[2] (He and I went)
nāṉum nīyum avāṉum pōṉōm[3] (He, you and I went)

3·52. If the subjects are of the second and third persons, the plural ot the second person is used.[4]

e.g. Tam. *nīyum avaṉum pōṉīrgaḷ.*

3·53. If the subject is made up of a first person which was *uyartiṇai* at the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār and an *a∴ṟiṇai* noun, the plural verb of the first person is used.

e.g. Tam. *yāṉum eṉ e∴kamum cāṟum.*[5] (My weapon and I are sufficient)

1. This is one of the instances which proves that human language cannot but have imperfections. When the subject consists of both the second person and the first person, it is, strictly speaking, wrong to use a verb either of the second person or of the first person since each will agree in gender, number and person only with either of the two. Still the idea has to be expressed in words. Since the speaker is more important than the person spoken to, the verb of the first person is chosen.

   This has not been stated by the author of the *Tolkāppiyam.* But the commentators have mentioned it at the end of *Collatikāram.* The author of the *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* has mentioned this in the sūtra 222. The author of the *Kēraḷapāṇinīyam* has not mentioned this, since there is no need for it in Mod. Malayalam.

2–3. The above argument will hold here also.

4. This is perhaps due to the fact that the person spoken to is more important than the person spoken of.

5. Tol. Col. 249.

3·54. If the subject is made up of *uyartiṇai* and *a∴ṟiṇai* nouns, they are denoted mostly by *a∴ṟiṇai* word and sometimes by *uyartiṇai* word.[1 and 2]

e.g. Tam. Kaṭuñ-ciṉatta kol-kaḷiṟuṅ
Katal-pariya kali-māvum
Neṭuṅ-koṭiya nimir-tērum
Neñcuṭaiya pukaṉmaṟavarum-eṉa
*Nāṉ*kuṭaṉ māṇṭa tāyiṉum. (Puṟa. 55)

(Though the fercious elephants enraged with fury, speedy horses of terrible strides, well-made chariots with their lofty flags and the warriors of strong heart-all-die together.)

Pārppār aṟavōr pacu p-pat tiṉi-p-peṇṭir
Mūttōr kuḻavi y-eṉum-*ivarai*-k kaiviṭṭu. (Cilap.)

(Having deserted these— brāhmaṇas, ascetics, cows married women, elders, infants.)

Kan. arasanum arasiyum caturaṅgabalamum banduvu (King, queen and the four kinds of army came) (Ś. M. D. p: 205)

āneyum arasarum arasiyum bandar (Elephants, king and queen came) *(ibid)*

3·55. Sometimes in colloquial speech *uyartiṇai* nouns are followed by *a∴ṟiṇai* predicates.

e.g. Tam. ivar i-k-kāṭṭil vandu kiḍakkiṉṟadŭ (These persons have come to this forest and are lying here)

Mal. ivar ī kāṭṭil vannu kiṭakkunnatŭ (M. Mah. II 29)

1. *ibid*. 51.
2. Since there is no word which is common to both *uyartiṇai* and *a∴ṟiṇai* subjects, one cannot but choose an *uyartiṇai* word or an *a∴ṟiṇai* word to denote them. Some prefer to use one and others, the other.

3·6. *Pronouns.*

3·61. Sometimes the word *ivaṉ* in Tamil is used to denote the first person singular.

e. g. [1] *kāṅku ivaṉ kaṭumpiṉatu iṭumpai* (This man—I—realise the miseries of poverty) (Puṟa. 173)

This is perhaps due to the desire of the speaker to address himself in the third person. The form *ivaṉ* is used, but not *avaṉ*, since he is the nearest third person to himself. Similarly *īṅkú* is used in the sense of *at me.*

e. g. *parakati y-iḻakkum paṉpu īṅku* [2] *illai.* (Cilap. 395, 85)

The word *aṭiyēṉ* is used to denote the first person singular.

e. g. Tam. *emperumāṉ aṭiyēṉaiyum añcal ennē* (May God till me 'Do not fear') (Sundara. Tēvā. p. 50)

Mal. *kūntal-c-ceḻumaṇiyum tarittu* aṭiyēn (I having taken hold of *cūḍāmaṇi*) (R. C. 395)

3·621. *Tamil*

3·62. The reflexive pronouns *tāṉ*, *tām* and *tāṅgaḷ* are now used in place of second person singular, *tāṅgaḷ* when the person spoken to is a very great man, *tām* when he is great and *tāṉ* when he is almost equal to the speaker in status. It is a peculiarity that they are followed by verbs of second person plural or by a verb in the third person neuter singular.

e. g. *tāṅgaḷ eppōdu vandīrgaḷ ?* (when did you come ?)
tām eppōdu vandīr ?
tāṉ eppōdu vandāy ?
tāṅgaḷ eppōdu vandadu ?
tām eppōdu vandadu ?
tāṉ eppōdu vandadu ?

1. It is interesting to note that morphologically *ivaṉ* is in the third person and *kāṇku* is in the first person.
2. *Īṅkú* is *iṅkú* with *i* lengthened for metrical purposes.

In literature *nām* is, sometimes, used instead of the second person honorific singular.

e.g. *nerunal naṭantavarō nām*[1] (Are you the gentleman that walked yesterday ?)

(Kampar Āra. 238, 119)

Such a usage is found in colloquial speech also. Similarly *adŭ* also is used in colloquial speech

e.g. *adŭ eṉṉa collugiṟadŭ* ? (what do you say ?)

The word *ivviḍattil*, the seventh case of *ivviḍam*, is used as the nominative singular.

e.g. *ivviḍattil eppaḍi niṉaikkiṉṟadŭ* ? (How do you think ?)

3·622. *Kannaḍa.* Nanninda *tamage* gaṇḍuheṇṇu makkaḷāgiruvadarinda (K. Mah. ādi 399)

(since the grown-up children are born to you through me.)

3·623. *Malayālam.* The word *aviṭe* is used instead of the second person.

e.g. aviṭunnŭ ārāṇu. (who are you ?) (M. Bha. 29)

3·7. *Cases and case-suffixes.*

3·71 *Case-meanings.* The cases from the first to the eighth are generally used in Tamil, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Malayalam as in Sanskrit conveying the same sense, (*i.e.*,) the first case denoting the subject, the second the object, the third the instrument, object in association or the doer, the fourth the recipient, the fifth the limit, comparison and cause, the sixth the ownership, and the seventh the time and the place of action.[2]

1. It deserves to be noted that *morphologically* *nām* and *naṭantavar* are respectively first person and third person and *semantically* second person.
2. Tol. Col. 65. 71, 73, 75, 77, 79 and 81 ; Ś. M. D. s. 126–133 ; Ā. S. C. 4th ch. K. P. s. 55.

3·72. *Dropping of case-suffixes.* It may be noted that in all the four languages case-suffixes may be dropped and the bare stem or the stem with the flexional increment may stand with the case-meaning; this is very frequent with respect to the second case and the seventh case.

Second case.

e.g. Tam. kuṭumi-k *kōmār* kaṇṭù (Having seen the king *kuṭumi*) (Puṟa. 64)

uṇkuvam peruma nī nalkiya *vaḷaṉē*[1] (Oh great let us enjoy the prosperity which you endowed) (Puṟa. 136, 27)

Kan. nānu ninna *samāgama* māḍuvenu (I will meet you) (K. Mah. ādi. 391)

Tel: *Kṛṣṇuni rūpabalaguṇādulu*[2] vini (Having heard of Kṛṣṇa's beauty, strength qualities etc.) (R. K. 16)

Mal. naṭamiṭu ennāvil iccayoṭu vaccu *aṭiyiṇak-kamalatār*[3] (Dance with pleasure on my tongue placing the two lotus-like feet) (R. C. 2)

Third case

Tam. *kai* puṉaintu iyaṟṟa-k kaviṉ-peru-vanappù (National beauty not made by being strong with hands:) (Tirumu. 17)

1-3. It is interesting to note that the second case-suffix is dropped in both the instances even though the word follows the verb which it qualifies Tolkāppiyaṉār sanctions it in the case of the second and seventh case suffixes. Tol. Col. 105.

2. The author of the Āndhraśabdacintāmaṇi says that nominative case is used instead of the second case in the case of inanimate objects (Ā. Ś. c. 6, 62). In such cases Tolkāppiyaṉār says that the second case-suffix is dropped.

Tel. *kānti* [1]*n*-intiki mukhakamala m-oppe (The lady's lotus-like face shone through splendour.) (R.K. 14)

karuṇa [2] jūḍumu (Look at me with favour) (Ibid. 26)

Seventh case

Tam. Ñāyiṟu *kaṭaṟ* kaṇṭāṅkū (like the sun seen in sea) (Tirumu 2)

kaṇṭaṉeṉ varuval..kāṭē (I came to see you in the forest) (Puṟa. 23, 22)

Kan. *ondu divasam* [3] bandam (I came one day.) (Ś. M. D. p. 199)

Tel. *Okanāḍu vēkuva* laghupatanakamu..kirātunin jūci (One day in the morning laghupatanaka having seen a hunter) (N C. 8)

viḍu *manuṣyulayeḍa* dāruṇakṛtyambulanu jēyuvāḍu (This fellow does cruel deeds to men) (T. Mah. ādi. 295)

Mal. *Tañcāvūr* tāmasiccu (He stayed at Tanjore) (K. P. p. 194)

kōḻikkōṭṭu cennu (He went to calicut) (*ibid.*)

3·721. It is a peculiarity with Telugu that a part of the case suffix is dropped.

e.g. Pāṇḍavulu *ēkacakra puramuna* [4] n-ēmi cēsiri *kuntitō* [5] n-iṭlaniye (id.) (T. Mah. ādi. 302)

1. *cēta* is dropped here.
2. *tōḍan* is dropped here.
3. The author of the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa says that this is an example where the nominative is used instead of the locative; but the author of the Tolkāppiyam says that in such cases the seventh case-suffix is dropped; the latter view is much better than the former.
4. ēkacakrapuramuna for ēkacakrapuramunandu.
5. kuntitō for kuntitōḍan

3·73. *Functional syncretism.* There are many cases in all the four languages where one case form is used for another. This shows the fertility of the languages in the ancient period. Of all case-suffixes, *ku* and its related forms were very fertile.

ku etc. in the accusative sense.

Tam. *ivaṭku-k* koḷḷum[1] i-v-v-aṇi (this ornament will suit her.) (Tol. Col. 110 Cēṉā)

Kan Bhīmanū ī *mātige* oppikoṇḍenu (Bhīma agreed to this word.) (K. Mah. ādi. 390)

Tel. vāḍu *tallitanḍrulaku* namaskariñci (he having prostrated before his parents) (T. Mah. ādi. 300)

Mal. brāhmaṇantēyum ī nagarattintēyum *rakṣaykkū* vēṇṭi (Eager of protecting brāhmaṇas and the citizens of this city.) (M. Mah. ādi. 2, 50)

ku etc. in the instrumental sense.

Tam. *Avaṟku-c* ceyya-t takum akkāriyam[2] (That deed is capable of being done by him) (Tol. Col. 110 Cēṉā)

Kan. Hiḍimbayu..*tanage* bēkāda sthaḷakke hōdelu (Hidimbā went to the place desired by her.) (K. Mah. ādi. 399)

Ku etc. in the ablative sense.

Tam. *Cāttaṟku* neṭiyaṉ[1] (he is taller than Śāttaṉ) (Tol. Col. 110 Cēṉā.)

Tel. ā-samarampu *vijṛmbhaṇamuku* mēlkoni kunti (Kunti having woke up on account of the growth of fight) (T. Mah. ādi. 297)

1. *Cf.* Ataṉai-k koḷḷum poruḷ-vayiṉ-āṉum. (Tol. Col. 110)
2. *Cf.* Ataṉāṟ ceyaṟpaṭaṟ kotta kiḷaviyum. (*ibid.*)

Ku etc. in the genetive sense.

Tam. *Nampikku* makaṉ [1] (he is the son of Nampi) (Tol. Col. 94 Comm.)

Kan. *nanage* nīvū avarū ibbarū samānarē (Both they and you are alike to me) (K. Mah. ādi 393)

Tel. appuḍu *vīriki* balamu vṛddhiyagunu (then will their strength grow) (T. Mah. ādi. 298)

Mal. niṅṅalum avarum *enikku* orupōlēyānu (Both they and you are alike to me) (M. Mah. ādi. 2, 39)

Ku etc. in the locative sense.

Tam. *kālaikku* varum [2] (he comes in the morning) (Tol. Col. 110 Cēṉā.)

Kan. maneyavaru ellā....aḷuvudu kuntiya *kivige* biddu (the wailing of all the inmates of the house fell in the ears of Kunti) (K. Mah. ādi 397)

Tel. *dāniki* buttruḍu kaluguvaṟaku (till a son is born to her) (T. Mah. ādi. 300)

Mal. Vyāsan.....vanna *vaḻikku* tannē pōyi (Vyasa, having gone through the way he came) (M. Mah. ādi. 2, 40)

Accusative suffix in the sense of instrumental case.

Kan. *ivarannu* mātāḍisalikke idu oḷḷiya samaya (This is proper time to talk with these people) (K. Mah. ādi. 402)

Tel. Arjunuṇḍu śatrusēnalanu bāṇambulanu rūpumāpe (Arjuna massacred the enemies' armies with arrows) (T. B. V. 72)

1. *Cf.* Paṇpiṉ ākkam (Tol. Col. 100)
2. *Cf.* Kālattiṉ aṟiyum vēṟṟumai-k-kiḷaviyum (*ibid.*)

Accusative suffix in the sense of the dative case.

Kan. ponnam *baḍḍiyam* koṭṭanu (he gave money for interest) (Ś. M. D. 197)

Accusative suffix in the sense of ablative case.

Kan. māṇavakanam *kāryamam* besagoṇḍenu (he demanded work from his pupil) (Ś. M. D. 198)

Accusative suffix in the sense of the locative case.

Tam. *cūtiṉai-k* kaṉṟiṉāṉ (he felt enraged at the game of dice) (Tol. Col. 86)

Tel. *Bhīmasēnuni* vai n-unna marulu viḍi (having left off her passion to Bhīmasena) (T. Mah. ādi. 301)

Instrumental suffix in the sense of the ablative case.

Tam. *vāṇikattāṉ* āyiṉāṉ (he became a man on account of trade) (Tol. Col. 92)

Kan. pāṇḍavaru ......ondu *araṇyadinda* mattondu araṇyakke sāgatoḍagidaru (Pāṇḍavas began to go from one forest to another) (K. Man. ādi. 392)

Mal. ñān *bhavānāl* makanēyum makaḷēyum peṟṟu (I, having given birth to both son and daughter through you) (Mal. Mah. ādi. 2, 43)

Instrumental suffix in the sense of the dative case.

Tel. vāḍu....*vāritō* iṭlaniye (He told them thus) (T. Mah. ādi. 301)

Instrumental suffix in the sense of locative case.

Tam. Mey-y-urupu tokāa v-*iṟuti y-āṉa* (Case suffix is not dropped in words at the end) (Tol. Col. 105)

Kan. hīge kelavu divasa *sukhadinda* kālaharaṇamāḍuttiralu (here they spent a few days in merriment) (K. Mah. ādi. 397)

Sixth case-suffix in the sense of the locative case.

Tam. *Kāṭṭatu yāṉai* (elephant in the forest)
(Tol. Col. 98 Cēṉā)

Kan. Drupadanu ondu varṣa *upayājana* sēve māḍidanu
(Drupada served under *upayājana* for one year)
(K. Mah. adi. 415)

Seventh case-suffix in the sense of the instrumental case.

Kan. *koḍaliyoḷ* kaḍidanu (he cut with an axe)
(Ś. M. D. 198)

Seventh case-suffix in the sense of the accusative case.

Tam. *aracarkaṭ* cārntāṉ (he took the king for his support)
(Tol. Col. 84 cēṉā)

kuppaiyai-t *talaikkaṭ* citaṟiṉāṉ (he cut the heap at its head)
(*ibid.* 90 cēṉā)

374. *Contamination.* *Iṉ*, the original ablative case changed to *iṁ* in Kannaḍa and later on became the instrumental case-suffix. Since both the instrumental case-suffix and the ablative case-suffix were used to denote cause, the instrumental suffix was dropped and the ablative suffix was contaminated.

In Telugu *ku* is considered to be the sixth case-suffix, though in usage it had not had much change. Hence in the strict sense of the word it cannot be considered as a case of contamination.

Since almost all the case-suffixes which were prevalent in old Tamil exist to-day with some modification in form and meaning, contamination has not crept in Tamil.

375 In the individual development of Tamil, the third case suffixes have undergone much change in their meanings and their relative importance. In the old Tamil the suffix *oṭu* denoted agent, instrument, association etc. and the suffix *āṉ* was not so widely used as *oṭu*. Besides in the majority of cases where the suffix *āṉ* is found in Tolkāppiyam, it has the sense of the locative

case. In modern Tamil *āl*, the metamorphosed form of *āl* denotes agent and instrument and *oṭu* and its metamorphosed form *ōṭu*, denote association. *Oṭu* when it denoted association, it was used in old Tamil after the word denoting the more important object.[1] From the time of Kambərāmāyaṇam it began to be used after the word denoting the less important object. This might have been in analogy with the use of the third case suffix in Sanskrit.[2]

3·8 *Tenses.*

3·81. The *past* tense in Tamil is used for the *present* or the *future* to denote haste or speed.[3]

(*e. g.*) *Tam. idō vandēṉ* (I am coming or I shall come soon)

382. Sometimes the *past* is used for the *present* to denote certainty.

(*e. g.*) *Tam. aṟintēn* for *aṟikiṟēṉ* (Kalit. Vol. 2, 583, 7)

3·83. Sometimes the *present* is used for the *future.*

(*e. g.*) *Tam.* Parataṉē..māmuṭi *cūṭukiṉṟāṉ* (Bharatan will wear the crown) (Kampar. A. 216, 4)

3·84. The future is used for the past and *vice-versa.*

e. g. Tam. Avvāṟu ceyyiṉ yāṉ *cettēṉ* (If it is so done, I will die)

nilaiyal cevvite*ṉpa* (They said it is good) (Tol. Col. 68)

3·9. *Infinitives :—*

3·91. *Peyareccam* invariably precedes the noun which it qualifies.

e. g. Tam. Pāṇḍavar *irunda* iḍattiṟku Hiḍimbi vandu...... (Hiḍimbi having come to the place where Pāṇḍavar were)

1. Tol. Col. 91.
2. *Cf.* sahayuktē apradhāne (Pa. Ast. 2, 3, 19.)
3. Tol. Col. 241.

Kan. tanna taṅgi y-*āda* hiḍimbayannu kuritu (Directing his attention towards Hiḍimbā who was his sister) (K. Mah. 284)

Tel. Pāṇḍavulu *unna* tcōṭiki vacci (having come to the abode where Pāṇḍavas were) (Tel. Mah. 203)

Mal. Pāṇḍavanmār *kiṭakkunna* eṭattēkku Hiḍimbi naḍakoṇḍu (Hiḍimbi went to the place where Pāṇḍavas were) (M. Mah. 28)

3·92. *Viṉaiyeccam* generally precedes the verb which it modifies.

Tam. Hiḍimbaṉ Hiḍimbayai-k *kaṇḍu* ninditṭāṉ (Hiḍimba having seen Hiḍimbā reviled her)

Kan. nīnu sundara manuṣyarūpavannu *dharisi idannēnu* ārambhisiruve (what have you commenced having taken a fair human form?) (K. Mah. 387)

Tel. Hiḍimbayu. bhīmasēnum *gāñci* .iṭlu talapōsenu (Hiḍimbā having seen Bhīma thought thus)

Mal. Hiḍimban Hiḍimbaye *kaṇṭu*..nindiccu (Hiḍimba having seen Hiḍimbā reviled her) (M. Mah. 31)

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Nos. 1, 2, 3, 10 and 14 are Annamalai University Publications.

No. 15 is Travancore University Publication.

Nos. 8, 16 and 17 Published in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.

Nos. 4, 7, 11, 13 Published under the patronage of the Maṭhādhipatis of Tiruppanandal Mutt.

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